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THE
L I F E

OF MAYSTER

William Caxton.

OF THE

Weald of KENT;

THE

First Printer in ENGLAND.

In which is given

An ACCOUNT of the Rise and Progress of
the ART of ~~Printyng~~ *Printing* in *England*, during his
Time, till 1493.

Collected by JOHN LEWIS, *K*
Minister of ~~Wergate~~ *Wergate* in KENT.



L O N D O N :

Printed in the Year M.DCC.XXXVII.

THE
LIFE

OF

GEORGE WASHINGTON

OF THE

REVOLUTION

BY



BY

JOHN B. HARRIS



TO THE
Reverend Mr. LEWIS,

Upon his writing the
LIFE of Mr. CAXTON.

INDUSTRIous CAXTON's Name in Time to come
Had buried been in dark Oblivion's Tomb,
Had you with-held your generous Aid to save
That Name which now will never find a Grave.
Sacred the Labour, Righteous is your Pains,
Thus to collect the Artist's true Remains.
KENT owes to you her Thanks upon this Score :
And not on this alone, but † many more.
More watchful you than EGYPT's boasting Seers ;
For there a Pyramid now huge appears ;
Yet lost for ever is its Builder's Name,
To our Surprise, and *their* eternal Shame.

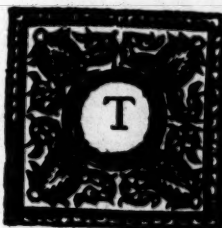
W. H.

† The History and Antiquities of the Isle of Tenet, and of the
Abby of Fauresham, Nunnery of Davington, Maison Dieu of Os-
springe, and the adjacent Parishes of Beeton subtus le Bleyne, &c.





THE PREFACE.



THE Collector of these Papers has had it for some Time in his Thoughts and Wishes, to attempt to do Justice to the Memory of a Man, who, he thinks, deserved so well of his Country, in so early introducing into it an Art of such publick Use and Benefit as is that of PRINTING. This he was the more forward to do, on account of Mr. Caxtons's being a Native of KENT, to which the Collector is glad of all Opportunities of expressing his Gratitude; having lived in that County almost forty Years, and been treated there with great Kindness and Humanity. But his Situation in a remote Corner of this Shire, divided from the Continent, and distant from Libraries and the Conversation of learned Men, and particularly such as were skill'd in this Subject, quite discouraged him. In this State of Despondency the learned and ingenious Dr. Conyers Middleton, principal Librarian of the famous University of Cambridge, was so kind

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and generous as to make the Collector a Part of his curious Dissertation concerning the Origin of Printing in England. Cambridge Printed for W. Thurburn, over against the Court-House. MDCCXXV. The Perusal of this served to revive the Thoughts of his former Design, and gave him Hopes, that he should be able, in some tolerable Measure, to compleat and execute it, with the Assistance of the Dissertation of Mr. Mattaire's *Annales Typographici*, reprinted at Amsterdam, 1733, and of some Friends and Acquaintance he had in London, and the two famous Universities, who favoured Researches of this Kind: And it is with these Helps that the Collector has been able to finish these Papers in the Manner he has done.

Mr. Caxton's Memory has not been treated with the greatest Candor and Benevolence, however considering the publick Usefulness of his Works, and the little Provocation he has given to the Abuse of such Usage. Bishop Bale represented him as a Man not quite stupid, nor benumbed with Sloth; which intimates as if he thought him almost so: And this unfair Character has been implicitly transcribed by following Writers. One of them asks, with an Air of Scorn and Contempt, if it will be any kind of Inducement to peruse the Works of an Author so recommended. But if Mr. Caxton was no more stupid than he was lazy, he may surely pass for one of the brighter Sort: Since the Books he translated and printed, at a Time of Life which naturally disposes Men to be indolent and unactive, are a Proof, that he was not of an idle Temper. What seems to have inclined this last Writer to use Mr. Caxton with so much Contempt is his printing Books of so little Value, as
the

the History of King Arthur, &c. But he should have consider'd Mr. Caxton's Time and Circumstances, and, that the Books he printed, as well as translated, were not always of his own Choice, but at the Request of others. However, they who have made so free with his Character should, one would think, have taken some Care of their own, and not in their Accounts of him written Things that confuse themselves, and shew the Inventors to be surrounded with a Darkness that may even be felt.

In how much Uncertainty the History of the first Use of PRINTING in England is, may be seen by the following short and imperfect Detail. Some of our Almanac Makers tell us, that Printing was first used in England, A.D. 1443, about twelve Years before it was invented, or however, but three Years after: Others say, not till after 1459. The Workmen of the Printing-press, at the Theatre in Oxford, in a Paper printed by them August 23, A.D. 1729, affirm, that The noble Art and Mystery of PRINTING was first invented in the Year 1430, and brought into England in the Year 1447: a Mistake, perhaps, for 1474. The learned Mr. Collier assures us, that the Mystery of Printing appeared ten Years sooner at the University of Oxford, than at any other Place in Europe, Harlem and Mentz excepted: Which fixes the Introduction of it there so early as 1457; since it's certain, that it appeared at Rome, and elsewhere in Europe, in 1467; though by the Date, put in the Margin, he seems willing to have had it thought, that it did not appear at Oxford before 1464. The diligent Collector of the Annals of Printing, supposes

Rider's
British
Merlin.
1706.

Parker's
Ephemeris.

Eccle. Hist.
Vol. I.

poses this Art first brought into England in 1460; Eng. Dict. and N. Bailey implicitly follows ^a Atkins's Romance of the Introduction of it in King Henry Vith's Reign, or before 1460. But the Generality of our English Chroniclers who mention it, tell us, That Printing was first practised by Mr. Caxton, in 1471, at Westminster, under the Patronage of Abbot Islip.

It seems a very just Observation that has been made by a late sensible and ingenious Writer, That it is not to be thought, that the Readers of such Accounts as they thought tended much to the Honour of their Country, have not been over scrupulous in examining nicely into the Truth or Probability of them: Though it is very commendable to enquire honestly into them, and renounce all such as appear fabulous and inconsistent with the Truth of History. This, it's hoped, will excuse the Attempt of the Collector, in the following Papers, honestly and faithfully to shew the true Character of our first Printer, and the particular Instances of his Probity and Diligence. In doing this, the Collector has had Opportunities enough to expose the Negligences, Ignorances, and Prejudices of some of the most learned Writers of the last Age; and could he have allowed himself, with the late Monsieur Baile, and others, to divert and make himself and his Readers merry

^a In 1664 was printed a small Pamphlet in Quarto, of four Sheets, entitled, *The Original and Growth of Printing in England, &c.* by Robert Atkins, Esq; in which is told a most groundless and improbable Story of Mr. Caxton and one Turnour, being sent to Harlem by King Henry VI. and Arch-bishop Bourchier, and furnished by them with Money to get a Printer from thence, to teach the English the Art of Printing.

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with the Lapses and^b Mistakes of Men much better, and more knowing, in other Respects, than himself, he would not have wanted sufficient Matter and Occasion. But he remember'd the good Observation of the Roman Poet :

—— Ingenuas didicisse fideliter artes
Emollit mores, nec finit esse feros.

The Collector has compared what is commonly called Caxton's Chronicle of England, with one of the MS. English Chronicles, which he printed, and with the Editions of it printed by de Word, 1497, and 1520 ; and by Julian Notary, 1515. By this Collation it appears, that they are the same, without any Interpolations ; only the old and obsolete Language is sometimes alter'd, to make it more intelligible : Of this a Specimen is given, by way of Proof, in the Collection at the End of these Papers ; where the History of the Monk's poisoning King John, in the MS. is compared with the Print. For the further Evidence of this, is here added a Collation of two or three other Passages in the MS. with Notary's Print.

^b One of the Writers that bears hardest on Mr. Caxton's Memory, and treats it with the most Contempt, thus writes of him : To William Caxton, I suppose, good Mr. Fox was obliged for the Account he gives us of King Alfred's compiling a Story in the Saxon Speech, &c. Now good Mr. Fox's Words are as follow: *Besides* Vol. I. *the historie of Beda, translated into the Saxon tongue, he also himself compiled a Storie in the same Speech called the Storje of Alfred, &c. which both bookes in the Saxon tongue I have seene, though* p. 186. Col. 1. Ed. 1632. *the language I do not understande.* Can any Thing be plainer than that Mr. Fox was obliged for this Account to his own Eyes, not to William Caxton ? In Caxton's Chronicles it's only said, that ' This king *Alfred*——was a good clerke and a boke he made in Englyshe of adventures of kynges, and of batayles that had ben done in the londe'.

English

English Chronicle, MS.

Print, 1525.

e lupen
malus.

—This William le
Rous was a luther man
to god and holy cherebe.

—This Wyllyam was
a wonder contrayous
man to God and holy
chyrche.

—That they twyne
[K. Stephen and Hen-
ry] fulde departe the
reame of Englonde be-
twene ham to, so that
Henry the Emperesse sone
fulde have halfendel the
reame, and after king
Stephen's day he fulde
thou haf al the bool-
part: and thus was bi-
tuen ham the werre ces-
fede, and pees criede
thorugh-out Englonde.
And whan thacorde
was thus made bytuene
ham, king Stephen bi-
gan to make soo muche
sorwe, that it was won-
der to wyte, for enche-
soun that he had lost half
Englonde, and there-
fore hym toke such a for-
we that broughte him
to his deth, and he deide
in the xixth yere and viiith
wokes and fyve daies of
his regne. And he lieth
in the Abbay of Feure-
sham that he lete make

—That they sholde
departe the realme
of Englonde butwene
theym two, so the
Henry the Emperesse
sholde booly have the
half of all the lond of
Englonde. And thus
they were accorded and
pees was cryed thrugh-
out al Englonde. And
whan the accorde was
made bytwene the two
Lords, kynge Stephen
became so sory for by-
cause that he had lost
halfe Englonde, and fell
into suche a maledye
and deyed in the xixth yere
and viiith wekes and v
days of his regne, all in
warre and in contake.
And he lyeth in the
Abbaye of Feuresham,
the which he lete make
in the xvith yere of his
regne.

in

—And

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English Chronicle, MS.

Print, 1515.

in the viijth yere of his regne.

—In the same yer the vijth yher of his regne, he [K. Henry] chaunchide the cogne of his monies.

—And in that yere, the fourthe yere of his regne, he chaunged his moneye.

The late Mr. Hearne has observed, that in the *Prose Additions to the MS. of Robert of Gloucester, in the Herald's Office, the Narrative of Walter Stapleton, Bishop of Exeter, in the Reign of King Edward II. building a Tower without Temple-bar, and his Funeral, differs considerably from that in Caxton's Chronicle & H. D. for which Reason the following Collation is here added.*

MS.

Print, 1515.

—And yat same tyme
ye byshop hadde a fayre
tour & makynge without
temple barre at the
bygge yn on Themye syde
and him lackyd soon.
Wherefore he made his men
to go to the church of
the frerys, the whiche, at
yat tyme were clepyd the
frerys of the pye, and ther
this byshoppis men pykkyd
stonys out of bure lond to
persourme his tour; and
yer also he hadde muche
sond

—And in that same
tyme the byshop had in
London a fayre tour in
makynge in his close
upon the ryver Temse
that was without tem-
ple barre, and he sayled
stone to make therof
an ende and he com-
maunded his men to go
to the freres Carmes,
and there they toke
stone to make therwith
the tour, and moche
sonde and mortar and
old

MS.

Print, 1715.

*sond ye which thei foun-
den among old robelle
yer yat yei dygged yn
after stonys and also
muche olde mortar yat
was last yer of olde tyme.
And for the dissese yat
ye byshop hadde do to
holy churche, he and his
two sqyres weryn buried
in ye same sond as yey
had noughte be cristned,
and so yey layn yer xi
wokys, for yat ye quene
prayed by hure letteris
to ye forsayd comyns of
London, yat ye shold
suffre ye body of ye for-
said byshop be buried in
his owen churche of seynt
Clement without Lon-
done. And bit was no
wonder yough ye bysop
deide in shynfulle deth,
for he was a couetous
man without pyte, and
he counsailed the Kyng,
as oyer dude in yuelle
maner.*

old robous that was
leste. And for the dys-
pyte the byshop had
done unto holy chyrche,
he and hys two squyres
were buried in yat
sonde, as thoughe they
had ben houndes, and
there they laye xi wekes,
tyll that the quene
Isabell sent her letters
to the comuners,
and prayed them, that
they wolde suffer and
graunt, that the bys-
hop might be take out
of that place, and be
buried at *Exceter* at
his owne chyrche, and
so he was, and his two
sqyres were buried at
saynt Clement's without
temple barre. And it
was no wonder that
byshop deyed an evyll
deth, for he was a co-
vetous man, and had
wyth him no mercy,
and evyll counseyllid
the kyng.

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The Collector presumes to add, That he is not so vain and conceited as to imagine he has made no Blunders or Mistakes, or, that his Guesses are always right: But he hopes he shall be treated with Candor. It's a fine, as well as necessary Observation, made by a learned and excellent Writer, that we should even scruple to expose some kind of Faults. 'A Man, says he, has spent his Life in Study: He has ploughed up fallow Grounds, or untill'd Lands. The narrow Bounds of human Minds sometimes, even in an Inadvertency, occasioned by a strict Application to what was most essential to his Subject, make him fall into a Mistake of small Moment. It may be he has fifty Volumes lying open around him: This multitude of Objects happens to dazzle and confound him. He fancies he sees and reads in one Author what is really in another, and so quotes the wrong Writer. Ought any one to exclaim against such a Writer as a Lier, or expose him as ignorant? Should we not rather pity such a Distraction, than be pleased with the Discovery of a Mistake which we our selves might have made, had our Minds been but as much bent and upon the Stretch? This seems offending against the Laws of Justice and Christian Charity, and even those of worldly Decency and common Civility.'

He further begs Leave to transcribe the Words of the learned Editor of the Register of the Most Noble Order of the GARTER, and very skilful Antiquary, as serving to apologize for himself in his Conduct in the following Work as well as for him; That 'tis hoped, that those Extracts, which the Reader will find here made from the Writings of

*'Caxton and others, will not be disgraced be-
 'cause they are inserted in their primitive Spel-
 'lings and obsolete terms, which he dares say
 'are, in his private Opinion, like the precious
 'Rust of Medals, being the Marks both of their
 'Antiquity and Genuineness.'*



TESTI



TESTIMONIES

Concerning.

WYLLIAM CAXTON.

JOANNES BALE Sudovolgus Anglus, Ossoriensis apud Hybernos Episcopus, Anno 1559, apud Germanos pro Christi professione Peregrinus, & postea Canonicus Cantuariensis apud Anglos.

Wilhelmus Caxton Anglus, vir non omnino stupidus, aut ignavia torpens, sed propagandæ suæ gentis memoriæ studiosus admodum, multa aliarum gentum monumenta ad id peragendum non parvo quæsitivæ labore. Habitavit interim in *Flandria* 30 annis cum domina *Margareta Burgundiæ* Ducissâ Regis *Edwardi* sorore. Cujusdam didascalii ad *Albani* sanum conatibus postea abortis quidem, sed nondum finitis, se ad hæc instimulatum esse primo fatetur : qui, morte præventus, in schedis ac pagellis aliquot imperfectum reliquerat opus. Hoc non solum *Caxtonus* collectis foliis coacervavit, sed etiam ex *Tito Livio*, *D. Augustino*, *Gilda*, *Beda*,
B *Isido*.

Isidoro^a, Cassiodoro, Galfrido Monemutensi, Guilhelmo Malmesburiensi, Martino Carsulano, Theobaldo Carthusiano, et aliis authoribus bonis addidit multa, temporum supputationibus eidem operi junctis. Incipit a Gigantibus, primis, ut ille putat, hujus terræ inhabitatoribus (quamvis cum suo autore anilibus decipiatur fabulis) ac definit in 23 anno Edwardi quarti qui est annus a Christi nativitate 1483, vocavitque suum opus, *Fructus temporum*.*

* Edit.
1548.
4^o.

Translulit a Gallica et Latina linguis in Anglicum sermonem.

1. *Vegetium de re militari. Lib. 4.*
2. *Joannitam de ludo scaccorum. Lib. 4.*
3. *Historiam excidii Trojani. Lib. 3.*
4. *Bonaventurum de vita Christi. Lib. 1.*
5. *Historiam Lombardicam. Lib. 1.*
6. *Capgravi Catalogum. Lib. 1.*
7. *Illustrationes armorum Christini. Lib. 1.*
8. *Obsidionem et expugnationem Jerusalem per Godefridum de Bullion ad Angliæ Regem Edwardum quartum. Lib. 1.*

JOANNES LELAND. 1550.

Guilielmus Caxodunus, Angliæ prototypographus, hæc aut similia his Anglicè refert in calce libelli continentis Pub. Cornelii et Caii Flaminii Orationes de vera Nobilitate de Tiptoto————

JOANNES JOSCELINUS. 1562.

Willielmus Caxton scripsit Appendices ad Trevisam qui incipiunt; Prosequens demum præscripti operis -----et continuantur ab anno domini 1397, in quo Joannis Trevisæ additiones in Polychronicon excipit, usque ad annum ejus 1460. Habentur ferè semper in

^a There are several Writers of this Name; but it does not appear at all in the Prologue to the *Fructus temporum*. *Isidorus Hispalensis* wrote a Chronicle from the Beginning of the World to A. C. 626. as *Cassiodorus* did to A. C. 519.

WYLLYAM CAXTON.

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line Anglici Polychronici. Claruit Autor sub *Edwardo*
Rege quarto. Anno Domini 1463.

JOHN STOWE. 1601.

-----*William Caxton of London*, a Mercer, brought
the noble science of Printing into *England* about the
Year 1471; and first practised the same in the Abby
of saynt *Peter's* at *Westminster*.

JOANNES PITS. 1600.

Gulielmus Caxtonus, natione Anglus, Vir pius, do-
ctus, et multum industrius, propriæ quidem laudis
connihil appetens, multo magis patriæ gloriæ cupi-
us. In *Flandria* quidem triginta annis vixit cum
Margareta Burgundiæ Duce, Regis *Edwardi* quarti
prore. Quo toto tempore nunquam fuit otiosus, sed
ut Patrias aut exterarum regionum historias in mani-
bus semper ferè habebat. In *Angliam* demum rever-
sus, ut ipse fatetur, historiæ cujusdam principia incho-
ata a quodam Prælectore Monasterii *S. Albani* qui,
morte præventus, opus intentum absolvere non potuit,
Chartas illas imperfectas accepit *Caxtonus*, suas illis
adjecit ex optimis quibusque auctoribus collectas. Ex
omnibus egregiam Historiam composuit, incipiens, ut
ipse asserit, ab eo tempore quo primum insula no-
stra cæpit inhabitari, et usque ad vicesimum tertium,
hoc est ultimum Regis *Edwardi* quarti annum, qui
erat *Christi* 1483, perveniens, seriem rerum perduxit,
titulum operi dedit *Fructus temporum*. Scripsit etiam
Appendices ad *Jobannem Trevisam* ab anno Domini
1397, ad annum 1460. Collegit omnia *Galsfredi*
Cbauceri opera, quæ prius non nisi sparsim hinc inde
reperiebantur, eaque ad justa redegit volumina, et in
publicum prodire fecit, ne dispersa perirent quæ in
unum compacta facilius reservarentur posteritati. *Jo-*
hannes Major libro quarto de gestis Scotorum fatetur se
quasdam hujus auctoris historias ex *Anglico* in *Latinum*
vertisse sermonem, et majorem Historiæ suæ partem

Testimonies concerning

ex illò sumpſiſſe. Scripſit potiſſimum ſermone patrio,

1. Chronicon Mundi vel Fructus temporum libros vii.

2. Hiſtoriam Regis *Arthuri* libros xxi.

3. Appendices ad polychronicon redditum *Anglicè* per *Joh. Treviſam*.

4. Vitam S. *Edwardi* Regis et Confefſoris. *Lib. 1.*

5. Ex variis compilavit *Angliæ, Scotiæ, Walliæ, Hiberniæ* Descriptionem.

6. Imaginem Mundi. *Lib. 1.*

Claruit anno 1483, regnante in *Anglia Edwardo IV.*

'GERARD JOHN VOSSIUS. 1627.

Guilbelmus Caxtonus Anglus, præterquam quod varia historicorum opera ex Gallica vel Lingua Latina Anglicè tranſtulerit, etiam ipſe Anglicè compoſuit plurima, quorum nonnulla a Latinis ſcriptoribus ſunt tranſlata. Edidit Chronicon libris vii. Quod *Fructus temporum* inſcripſit. In eo a gigantibus auſpicatur, quos primos *Angliam* incoluiſſe autumat. Progreditur autem ad annum 23 *Edwardi* quarti, hoc eſt annum *Chriſti* 1483. Etiam hiſtoriam contexuit *Arthuri* regis, item vitam *Edwardi* Confefſoris, ad hæc *Britanniæ* totius deſcriptionem. Idem continuavit appendicem quam *Joannes Treviſa* Polychronico addiderat. Hujus *Caxtoni* Chronicon in opere ſuo Latine tranſtulit *Joannes Scotus*, ſed reſectis quæ improbaretur. Nec enim pauca ſunt quæ judicium requirat. Unde Hiſtoriæ ſuæ *Scotiæ*, lib. iv. cap. iii. cum narraſſet, ut *Joannes* rex a monacho quodam Cœnobii *Swineſheid*, hoc eſt capitis porcini, veneno eſſet ſublatus, ſubjungit hæc verba: *Caxtonum* Anglum Hiſtoricum in hac parte ad literam imitor, ſolum linguam noſtram Britannicam in Latinam interpreter. Idem, cap. xiii. Circa hanc materiam *Caxtonus*, Hiſtoricus Anglus, ſic recitat. Ac poſtquam majorem capitis ejus partem ex *Caxtono* exſcripſiſſet, addis: Ecce *Caxtoni* Angli Hiſtoriam quam de lingua Anglicanâ in Latinam convertimus.

mus. Non solum improbabilia, sed sibi haud coherrentia vir iste cudit. Omni enim probabilitate vacat, ut duos reges peterent, superiorem et inferiorem ei subiectum, Scoti eligerent aut caperent. Item, *cap. xxi*: Ecce quonam pacto res gestas illius temporis Anglus historicus, quem sequimur, recitat, paucis verbis improbabilibus a me rejectis et reprobatis. Item, *lib. v. cap. xvii*. Postea invectivam in *Robertum et Davidem Bruscos Caxtonus* fecit, quot verba tot mendacia assumens. *Caxtonum* hunc *Simlerus*, uti et, qui eum sequi solet, *Possevinus* vixisse arbitratur anno 1538, sed falli eos satis arguunt quæ diximus. Quanquam vero Anglus foret, tamen magnam ætatis partem, puta annis xxx, in *Flandria* egit apud *Margaritam Burgundie* Ducem regis sui *Edwardi* sororem.

Idem.

— Hic *Joannes* Major *Haddingtonensis* Scotus, *Caxtoni* Chronographi Angli Historiam ex Lingua Anglicana convertit Latine, ut ipse refert, *lib. iv. Historiæ Scotiæ, cap. xiii*. Quod quo pacto præstiterit cognoscere est ex iis quæ de *Caxtono* superius diximus.

HENRY WHARTON. 1689.

— Versionem [*Polychronici*] ad finem perduxit *Joannes de Trevisa*, uti ex nota calci adnexa patet, anno 1387, die 8^a *Aprilis*: adeo ut palam lapsus sit, seu incuria seu errato typographico, *Caxtonus*, qui in fine versionis a se typis impressæ adnotavit eam finitam esse anno 1357. Illam enim, immutato paululum Anglicæ linguæ archaismo, et a seipso ad annum usque 1460. *Edwardi IV.* Regis primum concinnatum, typis impressam evulgavit * *Londini* 1482, fol. * *Westm.* *Gulielmus Caxtonus* qui sub *Edwardo* Rege dicto claruit *historia*, primusque omnium *Artem* typographicam *Angliæ* intulit.

Archp. WILLIAM NICHOLSON. 1714.

William Caxton ——— was a menial Servant, for thirty Years together, to *Margaret Dutcheſs of Burgundy* (Sister to our K. *Edward IV.*) in *Flanders*. He afterwards returned into *England*; where finding, as he ſays, an imperfect History (begun by one of the Monks of *St. Albans*, ſays *John Pitts*, very unaviſedly) he continued it in *Engliſh*, giving it only the *Latin* Title of *Fructus temporum*. How ſmall a Portion of this Work is owing to this Author, has been obſerved before; but he now uſually bears the Name of the Whole, which begins with the firſt inhabiting of this Iſland, and ends (the laſt Year of *Edward IV.*) *A. D.* 1483. The Opportunities he had of being acquainted with the Court Tranſactions of his own Time, would encourage his Readers to hope for great Matters from him; but his Fancy ſeems to have led him into an Undertaking above his Strength.





THE
L I F E
O F
William Caxton, &c.



WILLIAM CAXTON was ^{Recueyl of} born, as he himself tells ^{the Hist.} us, somewhere in the ^{of Troy.} *Wealde* of KENT; a Part of that large and fine County, so called from the *Anglo-Saxonic* Word *peald*, which signifies a Wood or Chace; this Tract of Land being mostly Wood. Here, he said, he learned the *English*, which he spoke and wrote; which, he observed, was then spoken broader and ruder there than in other Places of this County. By his Mother, it's said, he was ^{Bagford's} taught to read and write; which was a liberal ^{Life of} Education for those ancient Times, and for ^{Caxton.} which he afterwards devoutly thanked God, since by those Means he, in his old Age, got a

The LIFE of William Caxton.

Living. When he came to be of a fit Age, which I suppose to have been, at that Time, about seventeen or eighteen Years old, he was bound an Apprentice to one *Robert Large*, a wealthy Mercer of the City of *London*; who was chosen Sheriff of the City *Sept. 28, 1430*, and Mayor *October 28, 1439*, and died *A. D. 1441*. With him *Caxton* served out his Time, and was made a ^aConjurys, or a sworn and Brother Freeman of the Company and City. After his having served his Time, he seems to have continued with his Master as a Journeyman till his Death. But, however this be, Mr. *Large*, in his last Will, remember'd his Apprentice *William Caxton*, and left him a Legacy of thirty four Marcs, a considerable Sum in those Times, and a creditable, as well as early, Testimony of Mr. *Caxton's* good Behaviour and great Integrity. His Master being dead, it seems as if he was obliged to provide for himself some other Way. He himself has intimated, That the very same Year that his Master died he went abroad, where he continued above thirty Years, for the most part in *Brabant, Flanders, Holland and Zealand*. It has been guessed, that he was in these Countries as a travelling Agent or Factor for the Company of Mercers, and employ'd by them in the Business of Merchandise. This is not at all improbable, since in the Year 1464, we find him joined with one *Richard Whitebill*, Esq; in a ^bCommission from King

*Summarie
of English
Chron. &c.*

An. Dom.

1441.

*Recuyll,
&c.*

An. Dom.

1464.

Col. N. I.

^a Conjuratio, Juratorum Conventus. Jurati et Conjurati dicuntur Cives unius Oppidi. *Du Fresne Glos.*

^b The Commission stiles them *Ambassadors, Procurators, Nuncios et Deputatos speciales*, and gives to both, or either of them, full Power to treat, &c. See *Collez. N. I.*

Edward

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Edward IV. to continue and conclude a Treaty of Trade and Commerce betwixt him and the Duke of *Burgundy*, whose Son afterwards married King *Edward's* Sister, the Lady *Margaret*; or, if it was necessary, to make a new one. This shews that Mr. *Caxton* was thought, by the *English* Court, to be a thorough Master of the Trade and Commerce of that Country where he had now lived and traded three and twenty Years; in all which Time, he must, one would think, have acquired a great Deal of Knowledge and Experience.

Four Years after this, a Match was concluded, as was just now hinted, betwixt the young Duke of *Burgundy* and the King's Sister, and the Lady sent to *Bruges*, where the Duke's Court then was, with a very splendid Retinue. Among her Servants of the *English* Nation, Mr. *Caxton*, it seems, was nominated to be one. He himself tells us, That at this Time he was a Servant to her Grace, and received of her yearly * Fee, and other many good and great Benefits; which shews he was much in her Favour. In what Rank or Quality he served the Dutchess, we do not know; but the Freedom with which she used Mr. *Caxton*, in finding

An. Dom.

1468.

* yeoh.

Money,

Wages.

— Die Junii Domina *Margareta* soror Regis, per Dominum Regem ad litus Maris quæta prope insulam de *Tanet* accepit navem versus *Flandriam*, habuitque in societate sua *Margareta*, quæ est apud le Dame per Episcopum *Sarum* Domino *Karolo* Duci *Burgundiæ* nupta. *Wilbel. Wyrcestre*, Ann.

Mr. *Caxton* thus reckons her Titles: My lady *Margareta* by the grace of God suster unto the kyng of *Englond* and of *Fraunce*, duchesse of *Burgoyne*, of *Lotryk*, of *Brabant*, of *Lymburgh* and *Luxemburgh*, Countes of *Flandres*, of *Artoys* and of *Burgoyne*, Palatynce of *Heynawd*, of *Holand*, of *Zeland* and *Namur*: Marquesse of the holy empire; lady of *Fryse*, of *Salins*, and of *Mechlin*. *Recuyell*, &c.

fault

fault with his *English*, and ordering him to correct it, &c. seems to shew, that the Place he had in her Grace's Family was no mean or ordinary one.

An. Dom. It was now about * eighteen Years since the
1450. curious Art of Printing was first brought to Per-

An. Dom. not only in *Mentz*, but throughout the World,
1460. as we are informed by Mr. *Caxton*, who was

An. Dom. then abroad in the very Country, and particu-
1468. larly curious to know, and inquisitive after this new Invention. It seems to have been with a View to Mr. *Caxton's* learning this Art, and introducing it into her own Country, that almost immediately on his being admitted into her Service, the Dutchess ordered him to translate out of *French* into *English*, a *French* Book drawn out of diverse *Latin* Books, and called, ' *The Recuyell*, or Collection, of the *Histories of Troye*, by *Raoul le Feure*, chaplain to *Philip duc of Bourgogne*, and newly published, 1464. For this Undertaking, Mr. *Caxton* tells us, he thought himself so *unqualified* on account of his

* In which season, 35 *Hen. VI*, the crafte of pryntynge was fyrste invented in the cytie of *Mens* in *Germanie*, to the great furtheraunce of all persons desyryng knowledge or thirsting for literature. See Mr. *Fox's AEs and Monuments*, &c.

Coll.

Nº. II.

Les personnes desintereffes estiment que *Strasbourg* est le veritable lieu de sa naissance, et en fixent l'epoque a 1440. — L'opinion la plus probable est, que *Guttemberg* a conçu dans *Strasbourg* les premieres idees de l'Imprimerie ; que ne pouvant pas seul parachever l'ouvrage, il fut a *Mayence*, ou il associa *Fausse*, et ou ils commencerent les premieres impressions par un Bible en 1450, et par les Offices de *Ciceron*. Richelet *Dictionnaire*, &c. V. *Imprimerie*.

' The Reason of the Dutchess's pitching on this Book, seems to have been the Fondness of the *English* about this Time of deriving their Descent from the *Trojans*.

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unperfittness in both Languages, *English* and *French*, he having never been in *France*, and lived out of *England* near thirty Years, that he was fully in wyll to have leste it, and accordingly laid it aside for two Years after he had begun it, or till 1470, when it fortun'd his ryght re-
An. Dom. 1470.
 doubtid Lady sent for him, to enquire, it seems, what *Progresse* he had made in this Translation: And when she had seen, or read, five or six * quires of it, she founde a defeaute in his english; * leaves. but was so far from ordering him to desist, that she commanded him to amande, and make an end of the residue; whose Command, Mr. Caxton said, he durst not disobey: Accordingly he proceeded in his Translation, which, he tells us, he ' begun in *Brugis*, the first of *Marche*, ' in the Yere 1468, continued in *Gaunt*, and ' finished in *Colen*, the 19th of *September* 1471.
An. Dom. 1471.

Having thus finished the Translation of this Book, he next, he says, ' deliberated in himself ' to take the laboure in hand of printing it, together with the * third book of the destruction of *Troye*, translated of late by *John Lydgate* a Monke of *Burye* in *English* rithme. Of this Mr. Caxton gives us the following Account, full of Complaints of the Painfulness of it to him. ' Thus, says he, end I this booke— ' and for as moche as in wrytyng of the same ' my penne is worne, myne hand wery, and ' myn * eyen dimmed with overmoch lokyng * eyes. ' on the whit paper—and that * age crepeth

* The History, Siege and Destruction of *Troy*, at Commandement of King *Henry* the first, 1412. in *English* Metre or Verse. *Thomas Speght's* Catalogue of *John Lydgate's* Works.

" By this it seems as if Mr. Caxton was now about 60 Years old.

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' on me daily and feebleth all the body.—
 ' and also because I have promised to dyverce
 * them. ' gentilmen, and to my frendes to addresse to * hem
 ' as hastily as I might this said book, therefore I
 ' have practised and learned, at my great charge
 ' and dispense, to ordeyne this said booke in prynte
 ' after the maner and forme as ye may here see,
 ' and is not wretton with penne and ynke as other
 ' bokes ben, to the end that every man may have
 ' them attones, for all the bokes of this storye na-
 ' med THE RECUYELL OF THE HISTORIE OF
 ' TROYE, thus emprinted as ye here see, were
 ' begonne in oon day, and also finished in oon day.
 Thus, it is observed of *Faust* and *Schæffer*, the
 very first Practicers of this Art of Printing,
 That they used to advertise the Publick at the
 End of their first Works from *Mentz*, that they
 were *non atramento, plumali canna neque area*,
 not drawn or written with a Pen and Ink, as
 all Books had been before, but made by a new
 Art or Invention of Printing, or stamping them
 by Characters or Types of Metal set in Forms;
 by which Means the several Sheets were done
 all at once, and not Line by Line, as when they
 are written. When the Book was finished,
 Mr. *Caxton* tells us, he presented it to his re-
 doubted Lady *Margaret*, who well accepted
 the book, and largely rewarded him. This
 seems to imply, that he was abroad some Time
 after he had finished this Book, or made an end
 of printing it; since he went from *Cologn* to
Bruges, and very probably staid some Time in
 the Dutcheffes Family, as the Winter was then
 approaching.

By the following Rhymes at the End of an
English Edition of *Bartholomeus de proprietati-*
 bus,

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bus, printed by *De Worde*, at the Prayer and Desire of *Roger Thorney*, Mercer, it is affirmed, That Mr. *Caxton* staid long enough at *Cologn* to print there that Book in *Latin*, the Language wherein it was written by the Author.

*And also of your charite bear in remembraunce
The soule of William Caxton first printer of this boke
In laten tongue at Coloyne himself to advaunce
That every wel disposyd man may thereon loke.*

But in another *English* Edition of this Book, by Dr. *Stephen Bateman*, it is thus noted; 'That *Bartbolomew Glanville* (descended of the noble Familie of the Earls of *Suffolk*, and a *Franciscan* Frier) wrote this worke in *Edward III* time, about the year of our Lord 1360: that in the year 1397 was this work translated into *English*, and so remained by written copy until *A. D.* 1471, at which time Printing began first in *England*.' By this it should seem as if the *English* Translation of this Book was first printed in 1471; but its having a *Latin* Title might, possibly, deceive *De Worde*, and make him think it was printed in *Latin*. However this be, it does not appear, that any Edition of it printed by *Caxton*, or any one else, either in *Latin* or *English* this Year, is now in being. We have an Account of an Edition of it in *Latin*, printed at *Cologne* the Year before,

¹ This is the current Tradition of our *English* Chroniclers. Thus the *Summary* of them, p. 376. — *William Caxton* of *London*, a Mercer, brought Printing into *England* 1471, and first practysed the same in the Abby of Saynt *Peter's* at *Westminster*.

² In the Library of *Bennet* College in *Cambridge*, is an Edition of this Book in *Latin*, in a large Folio. It is an exceeding fair Book; the Types are very ancient, but well cut; and it is printed without any Signatures, Date, or Name of the Place or Printer.

viz.

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viz. 1470. by Jo. Koelbolf, and of another, by the same Printer, 1481. And as the former of these Editions might be whilst Mr. Caxton was at *Cologne*, learning and practising the Art of Printing, he might, possibly, be assisting to *Koelbolf* in printing this Book, or in the Expence of it, and so be remember'd by *De Worde* as the Printer.

Before the taking of the City of *Mentz*, A. D. 1462, some of *Fauf's* Servants had left him, and settled themselves at *Cologne*, which is but a little way from *Mentz*. But notwithstanding, it seems this City did not abound with any great and celebrated Printers till about A. D. 1500, near thirty Years after Mr. Caxton's learning and practising the Art here. This, perhaps, may account, in some Measure, for the Rudeness of Mr. Caxton's first printed Books: It being observed of this Book of his, *The Recuyell*, &c. which he printed at *Cologne*, that

Palmer's
Hist. &c.

Dr. Middleton's
Dissertation,
&c.

' it has all the common Marks of earlier Antiquity; ' that ' the Letter is rude, the Language incorrect, and that there is a greater Mixture of *French* Words in it than in his later Pieces done after his return to *England*; and, ' that this is one Proof of this being the first Book that Mr. Caxton printed, though not the first he printed in *England*.'

Whilst Mr. Caxton resided at *Cologne*, it's not unlikely that he became acquainted with *Wynkyn De Worde*, *Theodoric Rood*, a Native of the Place, and *Thomas Hunte*, his own Countryman, who were all Printers. The first of these seems to have come over with Mr. Caxton to assist him in the Practice of Printing, and continued with him to the Time of his Death. The other

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other two were not long after him, and set up a Press at *Oxford*, where they printed in *Latin*, as will be shewn by and by.

At what Time Mr. *Caxton* left *Cologne* or *Bruges*, to return to *England* and set up the Trade or Craft of Printing there, is uncertain. Toward the latter End of the Year 1468, the Earl of *Warwick*, on some Disgust taken by him, formed a powerful Conspiracy to dethrone King *Edward*, and restore the late King *Henry* to the Throne; and accordingly he took up Arms, in which he was so successful, as to force King *Edward* to leave the Kingdom, and fly for Refuge into *Flanders*, to his Brother in Law the Duke of *Burgundy*. But the King being supplied by him with Forces, and obtaining this Year, 1471, a compleat Victory over the Earl, who lost his Life in the Battle; the Consequence of this was, the violent Death of King *Henry*, and of the Prince his Son, by which Means King *Edward* was again settled on the Throne, and the Kingdom restored to its full Peace and Tranquility: Of this Mr. *Caxton* took Notice in his Epilogue to a Book which he printed nine Years after, called *thymage or myrror of the world*; in which he besought Almighty God to be the King's protectour and defendour agayn alle his enemyes, and gyve Him grace to subdue them, and in especiall them that had late enterprysed, agayn right and reson, to make warre within His royaume. This was a Providence very favourable to Mr. *Caxton*, who seems to have been desirous of an Opportunity of practising, in his own Country, the Art of Printing, which he had newly learned at *Calogn* at so great an Expençe. He was not unknown.

An. Dom.
1480.

to the King, having been employed by him in executing a very honourable Commission to the late Duke of *Burgundy*, and was in great Favour with his Mistress, the King's Sister, who, very probably, recommended him to her Brother. Accordingly, in the Epilogue above-mentioned, he very gratefully acknowledged, that *he acted under the shadowe of the King's noble Protection*. In the middle of *September*, 1471, he was at *Cologne*; from whence he went, some Time after, to the Dutcheffes Court, to present her with his printed Book. If he printed at *Cologne Bartholomeus de Proprietatibus, &c.* he must have returned thither again, and continued there a great Part of, if not all, the next Year, 1472. However this be, it's certain it must require some Time for him to come over from *Cologne* into *England*, and settle himself here, and provide all the necessary Materials for a Printing-house. So that, supposing he came from *Cologne* or *Flanders*, sometime in the Years 1472 or 3, we cannot well imagine him to be at work any where in *England* much before the latter end of 1473, or beginning of 1474; or however, not to finish any Book of Consequence till this last mentioned Year. It has been observed, indeed, That Mr. Caxton was at work several Years without telling us *where* and when he printed the several Books he was at work upon; since the first Book we have of his, which has *any Date* to it, is said to be printed at *Westminster* six Years after 1471. But Mr. Caxton himself tells us, That *the book or game of Chess*, was printed, or finished, the last Day of *March*, 1474; though he does not name the Place. Elsewhere he intimates this

to

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to have been the *second* Book of his Printing, in the following Recital of his printed Works, if it might be depended on as exact and punctual in the order of Time in which he printed them. 'Whan, says he, I had accomplishid *Legend*
' *dyvers werks and bystoryes translated out of f're,*
' Frenshe into englishe, at the requeste of cer- 1483
' *tayne lordes, ladyes and gentylmen, as the re-*
' *cuyel of thistoryes of Troye; the booke of*
' *Cheffe; thistory of Jason; thistorye of the*
' *mirroure of the worlde; the xy bookes of*
' *Metamorphoses in which ben conteyned the*
' *fables of Ovyd; and thistorye of godefroye of*
' *boloyne in the conqueste of Jerusalem.*—

But in this Recital are no fewer than *six* Books of Caxton's printing unmentioned, which were all printed before the thistorye of godefroye of boloyne. Even the *Diſtes of the Philosophers* is omitted. Because there is no Name of any Place where this *book of Cheffe* was printed, it has been doubted, whether or no it was printed in England. But, in the Dedication of it to the Duc of Clarence, Mr. Caxton tells him, that he had made this Book *in the name and under the shadow* of his noble Protection; which seems very strongly to imply, that he was then in England; since, how could he be under *his* protection out of it? Besides, if it was not printed *here*, it must have been printed at *Cogn*, or somewhere abroad; and it is not very probable, that Mr. Caxton, who tells us, That in 1471, he had Leisure at *Cologn*, should be *here six Years* without doing any Thing besides translating and printing this Book and the *Re-cuyel*, beforementioned: Whereas this is easily accounted for, if we suppose him, during this
C Time,

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Time, to be removing into *England*, and setting up a printing Press there. I am therefore inclinable to be of Mr. *Bagford's* Opinion, That this was the first Book printed by Mr. *Caxton*, after his Return to *England* in 1472 or 3. To keep up the Memory of this, Mr. *Caxton* seems to have made Use of the Cypher of '74, to fix at the End of the Books which he printed, which we are sure he used as early as 1480, if not before. However this be, we have no Books of his printed with any Date after this till 1477. It is not improbable, that during this Time, he printed some of his undated Books, as, the Collection of *Chaucer's* and *Lydgate's* Poems; *Chaucer's* Translation of *Boetius de consolatione Philosophiæ*, &c. which have all the Signs of their being some of his first, or most early Performances.

An. Dom.

1477.

Be this as it will, it is however certain, that in 1477, Mr. *Caxton* printed at *Westminster*; since in that Year was printed there his Book called *the dictes or sayengis of the Philosophers*. But as it is not said, that it was printed in the *Abby*, it has been doubted whether Mr. *Caxton* printed there or in the Town of *Westminster*, at his first coming into *England*. The first Book which we have of his, that is expressly said to be printed in the *Abby*, is that called *The Cronycles of Englonde*, 1480. But it's very well known, that the first Printers often omitted putting the Name of the Place, as well as the Date, to their Books; which is one Reason why their History is so obscure and intricate. In the Catalogue of the Books printed by Mr.

¹ Quâ figurâ eum puto suæ typographiæ epocham 74 id est annum 1474 indicasse. *Annales Typogra.* Vol. I.

Caxton,

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Caxton, which I have been able to make, there will be found, if I have not misreckon'd, but *fix* said to be printed at *Westminster*; one by *W. Caxton* of *Westminster*; one translated at *Westminster*; one by *W. Caxton* dwelling in *Westminster* besides *London*; two enprynted in thabbaye of *Westminster*, and in thabbaye of *Westminster* by *London*; and two translated in thabbaye of *Westminster*: the remaining Books have no Name of any Place. What are we now to conclude from hence? that Mr. *Caxton* printed no more than six of his Books at *Westminster*, and but three in the *Abby* there? Notwithstanding then it is not said, in so many plain and expresse Words, that Mr. *Caxton* printed at *Westminster* 1474, or before the Year 1477, or in the *Abby* there, till 1480, it appears very probable, that the first, if not the last Place, where he printed here in *England*, was the *Abby* of *Westminster*; except, perhaps, his own House, in the last Year or two of his Life.

At this Time, 1474, the learned Dr. *Thomas^m Milling* was Abbat of this wealthy House
of

^m It's generally said, That it was Abbat *John Islip*, who was Mr. *Caxton*'s Patron. *Hearn* tells us, without any Authority, That this Abbat had known *Caxton* before, and employed him to transcribe and translate several old Pieces for his Use. But it is pretty certain, that *Islip* was not Abbat here till after *Caxton*'s Death, viz. 1498. Our Writers, indeed, are in great Confusion about the Succession of these three Abbats, viz. *Thomas Milling*, *John Esney*, and *John Islip*. But it's very sure, that *Milling* was Abbat 1470, and made Bishop of *Hereford* 1474, when he seems to have held this *Abby* in *Commendam*; that he was succeeded by *Esney*; who, according to the Inscription on his Tombstone, died 1498, and was then succeeded by *John Islip*. The Copy of the Inscription, as preserved by Mr. *Cambden*, is as follows: *Hic jacet dominus Johannes Esney quondam Abbas bujus loci*
qui

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Descriptor.
Britan.

of Religion. Our famous Antiquarian, *John Leland*, gives this Character of him; that there were, in his Time, those who thought him an elegant Writer for the Time in which he lived; that, however, if what was related of him was true, he had, what was then common to but few Monks, the Knowledge of the *Greek Tongue*. It is not at all improbable, that when *Mr. Caxton* had made himself known here in *England* by his printing *The Recuyel*, &c. he should be invited by one of this Character, who was himself a Man of Letters, and a great Lover of Learning, to exercise his Art in his *Abby*. Or, perhaps, this, as a convenient Place for him to print in, may have been procured by some of those many Gentlemen and Friends of *Mr. Caxton*, whom he mentions as expecting his fulfilling his Promise to them of his Translation of *The Recuyel* in print. However this be, it's said he had the Ambry, or Almonry, which was commonly at the Entrance of the *Abby*, assigned to him by the Abbat for a Printing-house; and, that from hence the Printing-room is, to this Day, called a *Chapel*.

An. Dom.
1474.

The Game of the Chess, which, I suppose, was the first Book printed by *Mr. Caxton* in *England*, was dedicated by him, *To the right noble, right excellent, and virtuous prince GEORGE Duc of Clarence, erle of Warwic and of Salisbury, great Chamberlain of England, and Lieutenant*

qui obiit 24^o die mensis Maii anno dom. Mcccclxxxviii, Cujus anime propicietur deus, Amen. Exultabo in Deo Jesu meo, Amen. Reges, Reginae, &c. in Ecclesia Coll. B. Petri Westmo. sepulti, 4^o. 1606.

of

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of Ireland, *oldest Brother of King Edward IV.* This Duke was second Brother to King *Edward*, and had, by him, been promoted to the great and honourable Places above-mentioned. But this, it seems, did not hinder his joining with the Earl of *Warwick* in the unnatural Design of dethroning the King his Brother, and therefore he forfeited them: But repenting of his Treason and Rebellion, and his Repentance and Return to his Duty proving the King's Preservation, he was pardoned, and restored to his Places. This was in 1472. However, this Behaviour of the Duke's very strongly prejudiced the King against him. Of this the Duke's Enemies, and particularly his younger Brother, the Duke of *Gloucester*, who wanted to get rid of him, that he might come to the Crown, as he afterwards did, by the Name of *Richard III*, made their Advantage; so that he was impeached in Parliament, and had Articles of High Treason exhibited against him; of which, being neglected by the King his Brother, he was found guilty; and, at his own Desire, to avoid appearing publickly on a Scaffold, was suffocated within the Tower, in a Butt of *Malmesey Wine*, Anno 1478. In this Dedication Mr. *Caxton* tells the Duke, That
' he had put himselfe in devoyr to translate a
' lityll book late comen into his handes out of
' frenshe into englishe, in which he founde
' chauctorites, dictes and stories of auncient do-
' ctoures, philosophers, poetes, and of other
' wyse-men which ben recounted and applied
' unto the moralitie of the publique Wele, as
' well of the Nobles as of the comyn peple, after

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'the game and playe of the Chesse, — and, that for more clerely to procede in this sayd booke, he had ordyned, that the chapters been sette in the begynnyng, to thende, that the readers might see more plainly the matter wherof the book treated.' To which he added, That 'the Book was synysid of the last day of Marche the yer of our Lord God a thousand foure hunderd and LXXiiii.'

The *thirde* book mentioned by Mr. Caxton as translated out of *Frenshe* into *Englisch* and printed by him, is *this* storye of ° Jason. It has no Date; but if the Observation be well grounded, that the ancient Printers used to print second Editions of their Books not till about ten or twelve Years after the first, probably this Book, of which there was a second Edition in 1492, might be first printed about the Year 1475 or 6.

However this be, in 1477, Mr. Caxton printed a Book entitled, *The dictes or sayengis of Philosophers and of Socrates, at Westminster*. This is one of the Books omitted by Mr. Caxton, in his Recital of his more early or first Performances. It was translated out of *Latin* into *French* by William de Tignonville, or Tignonville; who entitled it, *Les dictes moraux des Philosophes, les dictes des sages, et les secrets de Ari-*

An. Dom.
1477.

Annales
Typogra.

" The Author of this Book was *Jacobus de Thessalonis*, who entitled it *De ludo Scaccorum*.

" See *Theauri Linguae Latinae compendiarium pars extrema, nomina propria tradens et explicans*, by *Robertus Anshelmus*, V. J. 1736. The History of the Knight *Jason*, by *Gerard de Lescow*, Fol. *Andewarp*, 1480. The same Printer empyrnted *The Cronycles of the Reame of Englonde* with their apperteignances. *Annales Typograph.*

store.

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stote. He was Provost of the University of Paris, 1408. Mr. Caxton calls him *John de Teonville*, and tells us, It was translated from the French into English by the noble and puissant lord *Antoine Wydewill*, and by that lorde given to him to print. He was Sir *Anthony Wideville*, or *Wydewyll*, the Son of Sir *Richard Wideville*, the first Earl *Rivers*, and Brother to King *Edward's* Queen. Mr. Caxton stiled him, 'erle *Rivers*, lorde *Scales*, and 'of the Isle of *Wight* defendour and director of the *Siege Apostolique* for our holy Fader the Pope in the *Royaume of England*, 'Uncle and Governour to my Lord Prince of *Wales*. After King *Edward's* Death, by the Wiles of the Duke of *Gloucester*, he was seized as he was conducting the young King, his Pupil, to *London*, and committed Prisoner, with other Lords in the King's Interest, to the Castle of *Pontefract*, where he was beheaded by his Order, A. D. 1483. In the Library of *Lambeth*, is a Manuscript of this Book, written in such a fine Roman printed Letter, that it equals any print of the later Ages. At the

Anthony.

Coll. I.
Antis,
Esq;

P Sir *Richard Wydewyll*, or *Wydevylle*, the first Earl of *Rivers*, was beheaded by the *Northampton* Mutineers, A. D. 1469. In King *Edward's* Proclamation for making Knights of the Bath, dated 18 April, 15 *Edward IV.* or 1475, the Name is spelt *Widewil*; some of our Writers have changed it to *Woodville*. In the following Memorandum of *William de Wycestres*, it's spelt *Widwele*; 'Cito post dictum Festum Nativitatis Domini 1459, *Johannes Denham*, cum aliis de *Calisia* secrete intravit *Sandwycum* ac ibidem cepit dominum de *Reverys* et Antonium *Widwele* filium ejus cum multis magnis navibus, et adduxit *Calisia* Comitibus *Marchie* et *Warrenii* et Sarum *Calisia* existentibus.' Sir *Thomas More* gave the following Character of him in his Life of King *Richard III.* Moderator Pueritiæ datus est Antonius Vodevilus, cognomento *Riverus*, reginæ frater, vir haud facile discernat manum aut consilio promptior.

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End of it are these Words: *Thus endeth this booke of the dictes and notable sayengs of the Philosophers late translated, &c. which was fynished the 18th day of the moneth of November and the seventeenth yere of the regne of Kyng Edward the fourth, &c.* To it is prefix'd a most beautiful Painting, representing King Edward, his Queen, the Duke of Clarence and his Children, and the Earl in his Surcoat of Arms, presenting the Book.

^{1477.}
^{1477.} ^{An. Dom.}
^{1477.} ^{Edw.}
^{IV.} The latter End of the same Year, viz. February, Mr. Caxton printed a Book, called *The Moral Proverbs of Chrystine of Pyse*. This is an English Translation of a Book written in French, with this Title; *Les proverbes moraux et le livre de prudence par Christine de Pisan fille de M. Thomas de Pisan, autrement dit de Bologne*. This learned Lady was an Italian, born at Pisa, and stiled her self a woman *ytalien*: But, her Father removing to Bologne in France, she wrote her Books in the Language of that Country and flourished about the Year 1400.

At the End of this Book, which is but two Sheets in Folio, are these Rhymes, after *Explicit*.

*Of these saynges Cristyne was aucteuresse
Whiche in makynge hadde suche Intelligence
That therof she was mireur and maistresse
Hire werkes testifie the experience
In Frensh language was written this sentence
And thus Englished dooth hit rebers
Antoin Wideuyll ther! Riwers.*

*Go thou litil^a quayer, and recommaund me
Unto the good grace of my special lorde
Therle Ryueris, for I have enprynted the
At his commandement following eury worde
His cople, as his Secretary can recorde
At Westmestre, of Feuerer the xx daye
And of kyng Edward the xvii yere vraye.*

*Enprynted by Caxton
In feuerer the colde season.*

In 1478, the 19th of Edward IV. Mr. Cax-^{An. Dom.}
ton printed, in Quarto, or a small Folio, a ^{1478.}
Book entitled, *Memorare novissima*, which 'en-
' treated of the four last thinges; the first of
' death; the second of the laste judgment; the
' third of the paines of Hell; and the fourth of
' the joyes of Heaven.' This Book, Mr. Cax-
ton tells us, was likewise translated out of
French by the abovesaid Sir Anthony Wydeville.

It seems as if, about this Time, Mr. Caxton
buried his aged Father, who lived with him at
Westminster. In 'thacçompte of the Wardens

^a Cayer, or Quayer, a Piece of a written Book divided into
equal Parts. Cotgrave's Fr. Dict. Here it signifies a little Book
or Pamphlet. So Chaucer uses it in his *Complaint of the black
Knight*:

*Go litil quaire unto my livis quene,
And to my very hertis feuerayns,
And be right glad, for that she shal the fene
Soche is thy grace.——*

Though, as Caxton uses it before, when he tells us, the Dutches of
Burgundy perused five or six quaires of his Translation of the *Re-
quy*, &c. it seems to mean only a Leaf, or Piece of his Transla-
tion. However this be, we have here a Specimen of Mr. Caxton's
great Accuracy and Exactness in printing, in that he followed
every Word of the Copy given him, and had witnesse of his do-
ing so.

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‘ of the Parishe Church of Seynt Margarete
 ‘ of *Westminster* in the shire of *Middx.* from
 ‘ the vij daye of the Monyth of *Maye* in the
 ‘ Yere of our Lord God 1478 anno Regni
 ‘ 18 *Edw.* IV. unto the 18th day of *Maye* in
 ‘ 1480 Anno Regni 20 *Edw.* IV. is the fol-
 lowing Article :

‘ *Item*, The day of bureyinge of *William Caxton*,
 ‘ for ij Torchis and iiii Tapers — — xx^d

An. Dom. 1479. However this be, in 1479 came out of Mr.
Caxton's Press, a Book named *Cordiale*. Folio.
 This Book, he tells us, was likewise translated
 by the abovesaid *Anthony* erle *Rivers*, and de-
 lyuered to Mr. *Caxton*, to be printed on the
 second of *Feurer* 1478, and fynished on thevyn
 of *thannunciation*, the 24th of *Marche* 1479.

An. Dom. 1483. But I suspect this and *Memorare novissima* to
 be the same Book; since I observe, printed at
Cologne, by *Barthol. de Unckle*, a *Latin* Book,
 with this Title, *Cordiale quatuor novissimorum*.

Whilst Mr. *Caxton* was thus printing Books in
English, at *Westminster*, and so much favour'd
 and encourag'd by the Court, and the principal
 Nobility and Gentry, there seems to have been
 set up, by some Foreigner, or one who had
 learned the Art abroad, another Press at *Ox-*
ford, to print Books in *Latin*. Who this Prin-
 ter was, we do not certainly know, he having
 omitted to put his Name to those Books of his
 printed here, which are preserved. But by
 some *Latin* Verses at the End of one of the
 Books printed here, it seems to be intimated,
 that the Practice of this Art was first introduced
 at *Oxford*, by one *Thomas Hunte* an *English-*
man,

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man, who was afterwards Partner with *Theodorick Rood*. However this be, the three following Books, which are in the Royal Library at *Cambridge*, the *Bodleian* at *Oxford*, and in other private Libraries, it's plain, were printed at *Oxford* this and the next Year.

1. *Expositio Sancti Jeronymi in symbolum Apostolorum ad papam Laurentium* — impressa Oxonie et finita Anno Domini Mcccclxviii. xvii die Decembris.

2. *Textus ethicorum Aristotelis per leonardum arretinum lucidissime translatus, correctissimeque impressus, Oxoniis Anno Domini Mcccclxix.*

3. *Tractatus brevis et utilis de originali peccato editus a fratre Egidio Romano ordinis fratrum heremitarum sancti Augustini.* Impressus et finitus Oxonie A nativitate domini Mcccclxix, xiiii die mensis Martii.

These three Books are all printed with the same *German Types*. The *Oxford Antiquarian* says, *Perspicuis magis et pulchrioribus quam recentiores nonnulli*, more plain and beautiful than some more modern ones. They have all of them a very regular Page; the Signatures are placed at, or under the End of the bottom Line, thus, a i. a ii, &c. and there is no Direction or Catch-word, and the Leaves are not number'd.

The first of these Books is plainly dated Mcccclxviii. which is about eight Years after the Time, when the Printers at *Mentz* were dispersed, and carried the Art of Printing to other Parts of *Europe*. This Circumstance, joined

joined to that of the Type or Letter used by this Printer, which is imagined to be nearly the same with that used by *Fust*, the first Printer, though somewhat different, has inclined some to think, that one of those Printers might come over to *England*, and follow his Profession at *Oxford*. But this is very early for a Printer to be settled so far from *Mentz*. Excepting at *Rome*, where two *Germans*, *Conrard Sweynheim* and *Arnold Pannarts*, set up a Printing-house *Anno* 1466; it does not appear, that any more than single Books were printed any where so soon after the Dispersion of the first Printers.

1 Rich.
III.

25 Hen.
VIII.

In 1483, but four Years after the latest of the three Books of this anonymous Printer at *Oxford*, an Act of Parliament was passed, whereby Leave was given to 'any artificer or 'merchaunt straunger, of what nation or countrey he was or should be of, to bring into the 'realme, and sell, by retaile or otherwise, anie 'books written or printed.' The Reason of this is, by another Act, said to have been, that there were 'but 'few Printers within the Realme 'which could well exercise and occupie the 'science and crafte of Printing.' This has not the Appearance of this Art having been introduced and practised here so long as fifteen Years before by so great a Master of it. It has therefore been observed, that the early Date of this first printed Book at *Oxford*, is contradicted by the more modern Improvements in Printing,

* All that we have any Account of, were *Caxton* at *Westminster*, *Rood* at *Oxford*, an anonymous one at *St. Albans*, and *Lettow* and *de Machlinia* at *London*; and their Impressions were not very elegant.

which

which appear in the Book it self, as the Neatness of the Letter, and the Regularity of the Page, above the Performances of *Caxton*, or, however, his more early ones, and the Use of Signatures: For it is a perfect Paradox, that the Art of Printing was almost, in its Infancy, brought to Perfection. The longer Mr. *Caxton* printed, the more we see him improved in his Art. If we may believe Mr. *Palmer*, a Printer himself, and uncommonly skilled in the Business, de *Worde* improved the Art to a very great Perfection, and was a very curious Printer; and *Pinson* was become a thorough Master of the Art: which seems to imply, that they both excelled their Master *Caxton*. Besides, if a Printer, superior to them all, was settled at *Oxford*, at least six Years before the earliest of them, is it not natural to suppose, that they who occupied this Science, would have been more increased than it's intimated by the Act above-mentioned they were?

It is owned to be difficult to account for this single Book's being printed at *Oxford* so early as 1468, and no other being printed there till 1479, eleven Years after; and then two others being printed there with the same Types, and in the same Manner. As Printing was, I presume, this Printer's Livelihood and Subsistence, how is he to be supposed to live ten or eleven Years without it? It is plain there have been some curious Persons who have collected and preserved such Books, otherwise we should not have had those we have; and it seems odd, if there were so many printed, as we may reasonably suppose there were in eleven Years Time, that not so much as one of them should fall in
their

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their way; but, that they should all light upon only Copies of these three Books. To suppose that this anonymous Printer, after having printed a single Book, in two Years time, at *Oxford*, shut up his Press, 1470, on account of the Rebellion of the Earl of *Warwick*; because *he* and his Readers might be otherwise engaged, and not open it again till 1479, that is, till eight Years after the Rebels were defeated, and the Kingdom restored to its former Peace and Tranquillity, seems surprisingly romantic. Why could not *he* employ his Press at *Oxford*, as well as Mr. Caxton his at *Westminster*? So that, on the Whole, I do not know a better Solution of this Difficulty, than to suppose, with the learned and ingenious Dissertator, that instead of Mccccxviii, the Date should be Mccccxviii, an x being dropped, either by Design or Chance, as was very common with our early Printers.

Whether this Printer died, or, for want of Encouragement, removed from *Oxford* to some other Place, is not now known. But in the Year 1480, we find another Printer at *Oxford*, one *Theodoric Rood*, a Native of *Cologne* in *Germany*, where I have supposed Mr. Caxton to have known him. He continued printing here till 1485; but how much longer we do not know. By some *Latin* Verses, printed by him

Hoc Theodoricus rood quem collonia misit
 Sanguine germano nobile preffit opus.
 Atque sibi socius thomas fuit anglicus huns
 Dij dent ut venetos exuperare queant.
 Quam senon venetos docuit vir gallicus artem;
 Ingenio didicit terra britanna suo.

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him at the End of *Arctin's Latin Translation of Phalaris's Epistles*, it appears, that he had a Partner, one *Thomas Hunte*, an *Englishman*; and it is intimated as if, by *his Means*, the Art of Printing was introduced into *England*. That Art, say the Verses, which *Jenson*, a Frenchman taught the *Venetians*, the *British Nation* has learned by its own Ingenuity, or the Genius of one of its own Natives. *Nicholas Jenson* printed at *Venice* in 1470; which being, at most, but the Year after the two *Spires* settling there, *Rood* ascribes to him the teaching the *Venetians* the Art of Printing. So here *Hunte* printing at *Oxford*, so soon as four Years after *Mr. Caxton* began to print at *Westminster*, *Rood* seems to mention him as the first that taught the *English* this Craft. But if what is here said does not any wise relate to *Hunte*, it must to *Caxton*, since they are the only *Englishmen* who were Printers at this Time. But, that *Hunte* is the Person meant, seems pretty plain from its being added, that the Art of printing *Latin*, which was first known to the *Venetians*, was now found by them at *Oxford*: Whereas *Caxton* printed chiefly *English Books*. It is added, that the *English* had a Taste of, and were pleased with the *Latin Tongue*, and that *Hunte* and *Rood* printed so many Books as to export or send them abroad, or however, to supply all Demands at home; so that there was no Occa-

Celatos, *veneti*, nobis transmittere libros,
Cedite, nos illis vendimus, o *veneti*.
Que fuerat vobis ars primum nota *latini*.
Est eadem nobis ipsa reperta premens.
Quamvis semper toto cœnit orbe *britannos*
Virgilius, placet his lingua *latina* tamen.

sion

sion for the *Venetians* to send any of their printed Books hither, as they had used to do. But, though this might be so, the Care and Diligence of curious and inquisitive Persons have, so far as I know, preserved but four of the Books printed by these two Printers, and one even of *them* was not known till very lately, 1735. Unless we suppose *Hunte* to be the Printer of the three anonymous Books in 1468 and 1479.

An. Dom.
1480.

* *Cytizen*
and *Alder-*
man of
London.

To return to Mr. Caxton; In 1480 he printed "*Thymage or mirrour of the worlde*, Fol. This, he tells us, he translated out of *Frenche* into *English*, at the *requeste, cost and expence* of the honourable and worshipful * *Hugbe Brice*, Goldsmith, who was *Sberiffe* of *London* 1475, and afterwards Knighted, and Mayor of the City *Anno* 1485. At the End of this Book is printed an Epilogue with Mr. Caxton's Cypher, as represented under his Picture, which shews he used it not above six Years after. I have supposed him to have first printed in *England*; though it's not unlikely that he used it sooner, only, as is very common with other old Books, this Leaf has been torn out and made away with. In the Epilogue above-mentioned, Mr. Caxton tells us, That Sir *Hugbe's* Design in procuring this Book to be translated and printed, was, to make a present of it to the 'puissaunt, noble' and vertuous lorde *Hastynges* Chamberlayne 'unto the Kynge, and his lieutenant of the' 'toun of *Calais* and marches thereof; That

" Another edition of this book was printed without date, by *Laurence Andrew* dwellynge in *Fleestree* at the sygne of the Golden Crosse by *Fleetsbridge*. At the Conclusion of the Table and Prologue prefix'd, is, *Caxton me fieri fecit*,

he owned the Translation to be rude and simple; but that he had, to his Power, followed his Copy, and as nigh as to him was possible, made it so plain, that every reasonable Man might understand it, if he advisedly and attentively read or heard it: Though the Translation abounds in *French* Words; such as *ottroye*, *emprised*, *ententyssy*, *arrette*, &c. which, at this Time, are not commonly understood by *English* Readers. He added, That this Book he began
' firste to translate the second day of *Janyuer*
' the yere of our lorde Mccccclxxx and finyshed
' it the eighth day of *Marche* the same yere,
' and the xxi yere of the Regne of the most
' Crysten Kynge, Kynge *Edward* the fourthe.'

¶ Caxton me fieri fecit.

Next after this, is mention'd by Mr. Caxton *Legendi D'oree*, himself, as translated out of *French*, and printed by him, ' the xv bokes of *Metamorphoses* ' in which ben contaynid the fables of *Ovid*.' Oudin places this Book in this Year. *Libri xv Metamorphoseon Ovidij in Anglicam prosam per Caxtonum conversi*, A.D. 1480. In Mr. Secretary Pepys's Library in the College of St. Mary Magdalen, in the University of Cambridge, is a Manuscript, which seems to be a Copy of a Part of this Book: The Title is, *A prose translation of Ovid's Metamorphoses, beginning at the 10th book*. In the first Page is written in red Letters;

' Here followeth the x booke of *Ovyde*,
' whereof the first fable is of the marriage of
' *Orpheus* and *Euridice* his Love.' At the End is this Colophon:

D

: Thus

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' Thus endeth *Ovyde* his booke of *Metamorphose* translated and fynished by me *Willm Caxton* at *Westmestre* the xxii day of *Apryll*

c

' the Yere of our Lord miiii lxxx. and the
' xx yere of the Regne of Kyng *Edward* the
' fourth.'

* Juyn
10th.

About the * Middle of this Year 1480, Mr. *Caxton* finished at his Press, his Book called *The Chronicles of England. Folio.* This, he tells us, he attempted to do at the requeste of diverse gentilmen; and, that he enprinted it in the Abby of *Westminster*, by *London*. Before these *Chronicles* is a Table of the Contents, to which is prefixed the following short Prologue.

' In the yere of thyncarnacyon of our Lord
' *Jhu Crist* 1480 and in the 20 yere of the
' regne of Kyng *Edward* the 4th, atte re-
' queste of dyvers gentilmen, I have ende-
' voured me to enprinte the *Cronicles of Eng-*
' land, as in this boke shall, by the suffe-
' raunce of GOD follow. And to thende,
' that every man may see and shortly find
' suche mater as it shall please him to se or
' rede, I have ordeyned a table of the maters
' shortly compiled and chapitred, as here
' shall followe, which booke begyneth at *Al-*
' byne and endeth at the begynnyng of the
' regne of our said soverayn Lord Kyng
' *Edward* the iiii.'

Then follows the *Table, &c.* which thus begins:

Fyrst is conteyned how *Albyne* with hir sisters entred into this *Isle* and named it *Albyon*.

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The Book is divided into vii Parts, and cclxiii Chapters. The Title of the first Capitulum, is, *The names of this londe*; and the Chapter begins thus :

In the noble londe of Sirrie ther was a noble Kyng and myghty.—Which seems to intimate as if Mr. Caxton printed these Chronicles from a Manuscript Copy, compiled by some body else, which begins in this Manner, as I shall have Occasion to observe more particularly hereafter. The Title of the last Chapter is the very same with that in the Chronicles printed with the *Fruetus temporum*, by *Julyan Notary*, 1515. *Of the depoficion of Kyng Henry VI. and how Kyng Edward the iiiii took poffeffion, and of the bataile on Palme-sonday, and how he was crowned.* At the End is this Colophon :

‘ Thus endeth this present book of the chronicles of *Englond* emprinted by me *William Caxton* in thabby of *Westmynster* by *London*.
‘ Fynnyshid and accomplyshid the x day of
‘ *Juyn* the yere of thincarnation of our Lord
‘ God mccccclxxx and in the xx yere of the regne
‘ of Kyng *Edward* the fourth,’

On occasion of Mr. Caxton's printing this Manuscript *English* Chronicle, and the Continuation of it to his own Time, many Reflections have been made on him. *John Major*, the *Scotish* Historian, observed, that ‘ he has
‘ coined not only Improbabilities, but great In-
‘ consistencies ; and, that in particular the In-
‘ vestive against *Robert* and *David Bruce* has as
‘ many Lyes in it as Words.’ But he should have known, that Mr. Caxton was only the Printer, not the Author of these Chronicles. The same Consideration somewhat abates the Reflection of

De Historiis Latinis.

Mackenzie's Lives of the Scotch Writers, Vol. II. p. 315. English Historical Library.

the learned *Gerard John Vossius*, That there are not a few Things in these Chronicles that shew a want of Judgment. It has been observed of *Major*, That as he all along mixes the Chronicles or History of *England* and *Scotland*, he takes the greatest Part of what concerns his own Nation from the *English* Writers, among whom his principal Authors are *Bede*, *Caxton*, and *Froissard*: That he owns himself, he often literally translated *Caxton*, though he takes Occasion to quarrel with his History, and especially for its asserting the Dependance of the Crown of *Scotland* upon that of *England*. But it is still a more severe Reflection which the last of these Writers has thought fit to make on *Mr. Caxton* and his History, as encouraging his Readers by the Opportunities he had of being acquainted with the Court Transactions of his own Time, viz. King *Edward IV*, to hope great Matters from him, when his Fancy only led him into an Undertaking above his Strength: Though *Mr. Caxton* tells his Readers, at the very Beginning of these Chronicles, as has been shewn before, that they ended at the Beginning, and not at the End of King *Edward's* Reign.

Bale, Pitts, &c.

It has been likewise reported, That *Mr. Caxton*, at his Return to *England*, found the beginnings or rough Draught of a certain History, begun by one who was a Lecturer or Reader of History in the Monastery of *St. Albans*; others say a learned Schoolmaster of the Town, who had laid the Foundation of a compleat Body of *English* History, but died before he could finish his intended Work; and, that *Mr. Caxton* took those imperfect Papers, and added to them his

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own Collections from some of the best Authors; as *Livy*, *St. Austin*, *Bede*, &c. the same which the Compiler of the *Fructus temporum* tells us he used, and called it *Fructus temporum*. But this Mistake seems owing to these Reporters having never seen the *English* Chronicle printed by Mr. Caxton three Years before the *Fructus temporum* was printed at *St. Albans*. But this Chronicle being afterwards reprinted with the *Fructus temporum*, gave occasion to the confounding these two Histories, and calling * *The Chronicles of England*, which is confined to that Kingdom, by the Name of *Fructus temporum*, or *the Fruits of Times*; which treats of Scripture and foreign History, as well as of *English*, as will be shewn more particularly by and by.

It has been further remarked, That though Mr. Caxton, in his Colophons at the End of the Books printed by him in King *Edward IVth's* Reign, supposes the Beginning of it to have been *A. D. 1460*; yet in these Chronicles he says, he was proclaimed through the City the fourth day of Marche the yere of our Lord God 1459. But I suppose, he here reckons according to the Ecclesiastical Account, which begins the new Year at *Lady-day*. However this be, it has been observed, That in the *English* Hi-^{Speed,} stories there is a continual Anachronism of a ^{&c.} Year, and sometimes of two, from this Year 1460, to the End of this Reign; and, that the Difference of Authors bath here bred some Conju-

* —As sayth Caxton in his Chronicle, which he calls the *Fruit of tyme*. Grafton's *Hist. of England*, Vol. II.

—It is recorded and found in the Chronicle of William Caxton, called *Fructus temporum*. Fox's *Acts and Monuments*, Vol. 69. a. Ed. 1563.

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By Red-
man.

John
Stowe.

tion of Years. This will sufficiently appear by the following Detail. In the Chronicle printed with the *Fruſtus temporum*, 1515, it is ſaid, that the ‘fourthe daye of *March* 1459 he was ‘proclaimed through the Cyte, of *London*, King ‘*Edward* the fourthe by name: and about ‘Mydſomer after, the yere of our lorde 1460 ‘and the firſte yere of his regne, he was crown- ‘ed at *Weſtminſter*.’ Our old printed Statute Books, in *French* and *Latin*, record the Beginning of this Reign thus: *Edwardus quartus incepit regnare quarto die Marcij anno domini 1460 — coronatus fuit 28 die Junij*. The ſame is affirmed in the *Summarie of the Chronicles*, &c. that he *began to reigne the 4th day of Marche by the name of Edward the fowerth 1460 — and on the 28th of June he was crowned at Weſtminſter*. But *Speed* intimates, that he was proclaimed the fourth of *March* 1461. *Hall* informs us, That ‘the 4th day of *March* ‘he, as *Kyng*, rode to the Church of *St. Paule*, ‘and there offered, and on the-morrow, *March* ‘the 5th, he was proclaimed *Kyng* by the ‘name of *Edward* the 4th throughout the ci- ‘tie, in the 39th yere of King *Henry VI*, and ‘the 29th daie of *June* was at *Weſtminſter* ‘with all ſolempnitie crowned and anoynted ‘*kyng*e *Edward* the 4th after *Willyam* the Con- ‘queror, which was in the Yere of *Chriſtes* in- ‘carnation 1461.’ *Polydore Virgil* ſays, ‘*Ad* ‘3 *calend. Julij* [June 28.] 1461, *rex creatur*.’ The Writer of the *History of England*, in 2 Vol. 8°. of which a fourth Edition was printed, *A. D.* 1715, ſays, ‘he was proclaimed ‘King of *England* upon the 4th of *March* ‘1460, and crowned the 28th of *June*.’ Mr. *Echard*

Echard tells us, That 'from the fourth Day of *March*, 1461, according to the common Computation in those Days, commenced the Reign of King *Edward IV*; and that on the 28th Day of *June* he was, with great Solemnity, crowned at *Westminster*.' Mr. *Collier* says, 'he was proclaimed *March* 4, 1461, and crowned *June* 26th.' And *Rapin*, different from every Body else, tells us, That '*Edward* was proclaimed the 5th of *March* 1461, and his Coronation fixed to *June* the 20th.' To name no more, the learned *Du Pin* observed, That '*Edward IV* was declared King of *England* in the Month of *June* 1461.'

In these Chronicles King *John* is reported to be poisoned at the Abby of *Swineshead* near *Lincolne*, by a Monk of that House. This Account of that Prince's Death, together with the different Relations of it by others, the learned and industrious Mr. *Fox* inserted in the first Edition of his *Acts and Monuments*, &c. to which was added, in some of the after Editions, particularly in the *Seventh*, printed 1632, a Cut, describing the poisoning of King *John* by a Monk of *Swinstead* Abby, in *Lincolnshire*. In this Description the Monk is represented as being first absolved by the Abbat, then presenting King *John*, sitting at a Table in his Robes, with his Crown on his Head, with a Cup of Poison, drinking himself of it to the King, and saying, * *Wassail my liege*, the King * *I wish* and the Monk both lying dead, and the perpetual Mass sung daily for the Monk. This Ac-

* This must be an impropriety, if, as our Historians tell us, the King lost his Crown in the Washes or River *Wellstream*, before he came to the Abby.

Coll.
N^o. III.

count, given by Mr. Fox, of this Matter, varies from that given by the Author of the Chronicle which Mr. Caxton printed in these two Particulars. 1. The Occasion of the Monk's being so incensed against the King; which, according to Fox, was *certaine talke that the King had at his table concerning Ludouike the French king's son whiche then had entered and usurped upon him*; whereas Caxton's Chronicle ascribes it to the King's Speech of the Monk's too large Provision, and swearing, That if he lived but half a Year longer, he would make a half-penny Loaf worth twenty Shillings. 2. The Place of the King's Burial, which Mr. Fox, with the generality of our Historians, says, was at *Worcester*, and the Chronicle printed by Caxton, at *Wynchester*; which Difference, perhaps, might be occasioned by the old spelling the Names of these two Places, thus, *Wyncestre* and *Wyncestre*, and the one being mistaken for the other.

However this be, Father Robert Parsons, the Jesuit, charged Mr. Caxton with being the first Author of this Story: And a later Writer of Notes on * *Rapin's History of England*, as the first that mentions it in *English*; withal adding, That it is not mentioned by any Historian that lived within Sixty Years of King John's Death, or before *A.D.* 1276; when his being poison'd is mentioned in a *Latin* Chronicle wrote by John*, Abbat of *Peterburgh*, which ends 1259. But to obviate these Mistakes and Reflections, it will be sufficient to transcribe what the learned and judicious Dr. John Barcham, Dean of

* *English*
Edit. 8^o.
Vol. III.
p. 242.

* Rex — cædibus et incendiis vacans de Northfolk versus Lyndesey per abbathiam Swynessevede venit; ubi, secundum quosdam, potionatus transiit Slafford.

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Bocking, A. D. 1623, has said of them in his *Life of this unhappy Prince*, printed by *J. Speed*.

‘ This, *says he*, being the Catastrophe of his
 ‘ tragical Reigne, might also have been the
 ‘ close of his Story, had not the suddenness of
 ‘ his Death exacted some search into the cause
 ‘ of his sickness. Such Authors as touch the
 ‘ matter but in general content themselves with
 ‘ saying, he died of ^a grief, or of a ^b feavour, or
 ‘ a ^c flux, or a ^d surfeit. But those who have
 ‘ entred into particulars, insist on such a surfet
 ‘ as whereof both grief, feavour and flux were
 ‘ most probable effects and symptomes. For,
 ‘ coming, say ^e they, from the Washes to *Swin-*
 ‘ *shed Abby* (being of the *Cisteaux* Order which
 ‘ of old he had much incensed) he added new
 ‘ matter of offence as he sate at meat, when, in
 ‘ speech ^f of his enemies too large provision, he
 ‘ sware, if He lived but half a year longer, he
 ‘ would make one half penny loaf as deare as
 ‘ ^g twelve: which to prevent, a Monk that had
 ‘ Holy Habit, whether in love to *Lewis*, or
 ‘ hate to the King, or pity to the land, present-
 ‘ ing Him with an envenomed Cup, whereof
 ‘ the King commanded him to be his Taster,
 ‘ became the Diabolical instrument of his own
 ‘ and his Sovereign’s destruction. This Rela-
 ‘ tion, delivered by Monks, and Men of Mon-

^a *Jo. de Walling.*

^b *Polydor. Verg.*

^c *Tho. Otterburne.*

^d *Mat. West.*

^e Chronicle of *St. Albans* MS. Sundry *English* Chronicles MS.
Caxton’s Chronicle.

^f *English Chron. MS. Eulogium MS.*

^g As dear as twelve half-penny loaves, *Leicestrensis.* As 2 pence,
Otterburn. As 20 d. *Polychroni.* As 20 s. *Caxton’s MS.* 1 pound
 of bread, 1 pound of silver, *Eulogium MS.*

‘ kish

' kish humour as a thing so undeniable, that
 ' they avow, at what time they wrote this, ^a five
 ' Monks in that Abby did sing for this their bro-
 ' ther's soule specially, and so should whiles the
 ' Abbey stood, which, if it had been forged,
 ' every child might easily have refuted; and
 ' the rehearſal of all circumstances therof, (of
 ' the King's Speeches, of the Monk's conference
 ' with the Abbat, of his preparing the drinke
 ' with the Toad in the garden, of his dying in
 ' the Infirmary) might deserve credit with the
 ' greateſt Patrons of Monkery: Yet ¹ one of
 ' them (as if by acquitting *Simon of Swinſhed*
 ' all other of ſuch Orders were cleared from
 ' aſſaſinating of Princes, tho' *James Clement* did
 ' kill *Henry III of France*) ſtriveth eagerly to
 ' aſperſe ſome late ² Relaters hereof with the
 ' blots of both *Malice and Forgery*. Wherein
 ' is the *Malice*? in adding to the Narrations
 ' *Pictures alſo of the fact, ſo to move hatred to*
 ' *Monkes and their Religion*. Whereas, of truth,
 ' either Monkes, or men of that Religion, were
 ' the very firſt who not only ſo *depicted*, but
 ' alſo lively and richly *depainted* in their good-
 ' lieſt Manuscripts, particularly the MS of
 ' *St. Alban's* in the Library of the Archbiſhop
 ' of *Canterbury*, and a Manuscript written in
 ' the time of King *Edward I*, in Mr. *Selden's*
 ' Library; where the King is limmed with His
 ' Crowne and rich robes ſitting at a banquet,
 ' and foure Monkes in their habits coming to
 ' him, wherof one preſents Him with the poi-

^a Chron. of *St. Alban's*, MS. *Caxton et alij. Eulogium ſaith, Tres Monachos ex conſenſu Capituli generalis,*

¹ *P. Parſon's* Warn word Enc. 2. c. 15.

² *J. Fox, Sir Fran. Haſtings.*

‘soned Cup. Wherin then the Forgery? In
 ‘Fox’s adding to Caxton¹, that his Abbat gave
 ‘him Absolution for the same before-hand, there
 ‘being no such matter at all, nor mention thereof
 ‘in the Story. No! let the very Story speak²:
 ‘The Monk went to the Abbat, and was shaven
 ‘of him, and told the Abbat all the King had
 ‘said; and prayed his Abbat to asswage him, for
 ‘he would give the King such a drinke that all
 ‘England should be glad thereof and joyful. The
 ‘yode-the-Monke into the garden, &c. Yea one
 ‘Monk, Lecestrensis, alledgeth an inducement
 ‘for the Abbat’s assent thereto, for that the
 ‘King had sent for the Abbat’s Sister, a faire
 ‘Prioreffe, with purpose to have deflowered her.
 ‘Yea, but the Story it self is charged with No-
 ‘velty, the³ first author thereof being but Anno
 ‘1483, and all other former writers making no
 ‘mention of it. This, if true, were somewhat
 ‘and doubtlesse it is as true as the former. For
 ‘how could he, Caxton, be the first author, sith
 ‘the Latine History entituled⁴ *Eulogium*, whose
 ‘author died about 1366, hath all particulers
 ‘more exactly set downe than that English one
 ‘hath, and expressely, that the Monke conferred
 ‘with his Abbat of his whole purpose, and shruived,
 ‘or confessed, himself how he would suffer this
 ‘voluntary Martyrdome, as Caiaphas said of
 ‘Christe, better one perish than a Nation. At
 ‘which constancy of the Martyr the Abbat wept
 ‘for joy, and praised GOD: So the Monke be-
 ‘ing absolved by the Abbat was undaunted, and
 ‘took the Cup, &c. And not only Ranulph the

¹ F. Parson’s Warn word.

² Caxton’s Chron.

³ F. Parson’s ibid.

⁴ MS. in biblio. D. Rob. Cotton.

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' Monk of *Chester*, author of the *Polycronicon*,
 ' who was born in the reign of *Henry III*, the
 ' very next reign to that of King *John*, *John*
 ' of *Tynmouth* who flourished 1336, and *Thomas*
 ' *Otterbourne* the *Franciscan* Frier who ended
 ' his story *Anno* 1420, recorded it as *Fama*
 ' *vulgata*, a Fame generally received; but sun-
 ' dry other ancient stories, as *John* of *Lich-*
 ' *field*, the Monke of *Leicester*, and *Scala Mundi*,
 ' to omit other namelesse authors before *Anno*
 ' 1483, as *Hist. de gestis Reg. Joh.* MS, and
 ' *English Chronicles* MS before *Edward III*, so
 ' confidently avouch his poisoning at *Swinshead*,
 ' that impartial after ^p Writers, though friends
 ' to Monckery, make no scruple to believe it.
 ' And why should they not? sith an author
 ' more ancient and unexceptionable than all the
 ' rest, even King *John*'s son and successor in His
 ' Kingdom, averred it, when the Prior of *Cler-*
 ' *kenwell* saucily telling Him, being in that
 ' House, that *as soon as he ceased to do justice to-*
 ' *wards His Prelates, he should cease to be a*
 ' *King*; the King, enraged with his traito-
 ' rous threate, replied ^q, *What? meane you*
 ' *to turne me out of my Kingdom, and after-*
 ' *ward to murder me, as my Father was dealt*
 ' *with?*'

By all this it sufficiently appears, That, whe-
 ther this Story be true or not, it was not a Sto-
 ry of Mr. *Caxton*'s making, and that *he* was not
 the first who mentioned it in *English*. He only

^p *William Caxton, John Major, Geo. Lilius et alii.*

^q O quid sibi vult istud, vos Anglici, vultisne me, sicut quon-
 dam patrem meum, a regno precipitare, atque necare precipita-
 tum? *Mat. Paris Histo. Major. p. 854.*

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copied it from an *English Chronicle* in Manuscript; and the most that can be said of *him* is, that *he was the first who printed it*. As for *F. Parsons*, he seems not to have known of this Edition of the *Chronicles of England, A. D. 1480*; that to which *he* refers being the Edition at *St. Albans* three Years after. However this be, if we may credit *Mr. Fox*, of the Writers concerning the Death of this Prince, the most agree in this, That he was poisoned by the Monk above-named. But to return to *Mr. Caxton*.

About *three Months* after his printing these *An. Dom. 1480.* *Chronicles of England*, he printed a little Tract in Folio, of the same Size with the *Chronicles*, which he called *The description of England, Wales and Scotland, and also Yrlond*; which, he said, 'was fynished by him the 18th day of *August* the yere of our lord god 1480 and the '20 yere of the regne of King *Edward IVth*.' This was printed from *John Trevisa's English Translation of Ranulph Higden*, the Compiler of the *Polychronicon*, and afterwards reprinted with the *Fruetus temporum*, &c. In the Edition of it by *Julian Notary*, 1515, the following Rubrics are prefixed to it.

¶ Here foloweth a lytell treatyse the whych treateth of the description of this londe whiche of olde thyme was named *Albyon*, and after *Britayne*, and now is called *Englonde* and

* The Manuscript of this Chronicle, which I have seen, ends with the 6th of *Edward III, A. D. 1332*. But another Manuscript Copy of it in *Bennet Coll. Library*, ends with that Reign, *A. D. 1377*. a Part of the last Sentence being—the which kyng *Edward* when he had regned li yere and more—he deide at *Shene*—on whos soule god have mercy *Amen*. As it is printed.

speaketh

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speaketh of the nobleſſe and worthineſſe of the ſame.

¶ It is ſoo, that in many and diuerſe places the comyn Cronycles of *Englond* ben had, and alſo nowe late enprynted. And forasmoche as the dyscrypcyon of this londe whyche of olde tyme was named *Albyon*, and after *Brytayne* is not deſcryved ne comynly hadde, ne the nobleſſe and worthyneſſe of the ſame is not knowen; therefore I entende to ſette in this booke the deſcrypcion of this ſayde yle of *Brytajne* and with the commodytes of the ſame.

Then follows a Table of the Contents; by which it appears, that this *Description*, &c. conſiſts of twenty nine Chapters. It has been obſerv'd, That 'from the Conqueſt, down to the Reign of King *Henry* the Eighth, our *Engliſh* Geographers have either been very few, or the want of Printing has occaſioned the Loſs of moſt of them; and that this of *Caxton's* is the only Thing in its Kind which we have.' And yet, it's certain, this is not *Caxton's*, but *Higden's*, and only printed by him from *Trevisa's* Tranſlation of it into *Engliſh*, as has been hinted before.

English
Historical
Library.

An. Dom. 1480. It ſeems as if about this Time, or a little before, a third Printing Preſs was ſet up in the Town of *St. Albans*, about twenty Miles from *London*, by one whoſe Name, Sir *Henry*

'The Time of ſetting up this Preſs is ſaid, by Sir *Henry Chauncy*, to have been whiſt *William Alban* was Abbat; who, according to him, died *July 1, 1476*, the 16th of *Edward IV.* But this ſeems as much or more too early for *Inſomuch's* printing here, if that was the Name of the Printer, as 1471 is for *Caxton's* printing in the Abby of *Weſtmiſter*.

Chauncy

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Chauncey says, was *John Insomuch*, who is by Bishop Bale said to be a School-master, and by Pits, a Prælector, or Reader of the Abby of that Place. But however this be, the following Book, printed here in *Latin* this Year 1480, is said to be imprinted at the Town of St. Albans. According to the printed Catalogue of the late Bishop More's rare and uncommon Books, it bore this Title: *Rhetorica nova Fratris Laurentii Gulielmi de Saona ordinis minorum compilata in alma Universitate Cantabrigiæ ann. 1478, impressa apud Villam Sti Albani 1480.* Though, it seems, the Copy of this Book, which is in Bennet College Library, has neither, at the Beginning or End, any Account of the Printer's Name, or of the Place or Time where or when it was printed.

However this be, it seems pretty certain, That in the Year 1483, there was printed here another Book, entitled, *Fructus temporum with the cronycle of Englonde.* In the Prologue to it we are told, That 'in the yere 1483, at saynt *Albons*, so that men may know, thactes, 'namely of oure noble kyngs of *Englonde*, is 'compylid togeder in 90 boke.' *De Worde* thus speaks of it, in a Colophon at the End of his Edition of it, 1497. *Here endyth this present cronycle of Englonde with the Fruyte of tymes compyled in a booke and enprynted by one sometime scolemaster of St. Albans.*—This Book begins with a Table of Contents. Next follows a Prologue, which begins thus: *Insomache that it is necessary to all creatures of Chrysten relygyon, or of fals relygyon, or gentyles or Machomytes, to knowe ther Prince or Pryncis that regne upon them, and them to obey: so it is commodious*

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modious to knowe ther noble actes and dedes, and the circumstance of their lives.—After intimating, as above, the Time when, and Place where these Actes were compiled, it is added, That ' moreover is translated out of latyn into ' englishe fro the begynnyng of the worlde the ' lygnage of *Cryst* — The foure pryncypall ' reames of the worlde, that is to saye, of *Babylon*, of *Percees*, of *Grekes*, and of *Romayns*, ' And all the Emperours of *Rome*, or *Popes*, by ' ordre and theyr names, and many a notable ' fader with certen of their actes. — Next ' are reherfed the names of the Auctours, of ' whome these Cronycles been translated moost. ' Namely, *Galfridus Munmoth* monk in his ' booke of *Brute*: *S. Bede* in the actes of *Englonde*, in his boke of tymes: *Gildas* in the ' actes of *Brytayne*; *William Malmsbury* monke ' in the actes of the kynges of *Englonde* and byshops; * *Cassiderus* of the Actes of Emperors ' and Bishops, *St. Austin* de civitate Dei; *Titus Livius* de gestis Romanorum; *Martyn*, penitenciarie to the Pope, in his cronycles of Emperors and bishops; and namely * *Theobaldus Cartusienfis* conteynynge in his boke the progresse of all notable faders from the begynnyng ' of the world unto our tyme with the notable ' actes of the same.' Next it is intimated as if it was the first Design of the Compiler of this Book to have continued the History to the Year 1483, or the End of King *Edward IV* Reign. ' In this new translation, saies the Writer, are

* Marcus, Aurelius, Cassiodorus.

* *Theobaldus Anglicus* — claruit anno. 1320. opus condidit de *progressu Sanctorum Patrum*. Eo volumine complexus est gesta Sanctorum omnium, quos vel in sacris bibliis, vel historiis Ecclesiasticis, reperisset. *G. J. Vossii* de Histor. Lat. lib. III.

' con-

‘ conteyned many notable and marveylous things:
 ‘ and those ben alleged by auctoryte of many
 ‘ famous clerks*. And, that every man may ^{learned}
 ‘ knowe howe thyse cronycles ben ordered, ye ^{men or}
 ‘ shall understonde, that this boke is devyded ^{scholars,}
 ‘ into vij partes. — the *seventhe* parte fro the
 ‘ Normans unto oure tyme, whyche is under the
 ‘ regne of Kynge Edward the fourth 23 yere
 ‘ whoos noble cronycles by custome may not be
 ‘ seen:’ or are not commonly known. From
 hence have some of our learned Writers a little
 too hastily concluded, that this Chronicle,
 printed by Caxton, ended with the End of King
 Edward’s Reign. But, whether by Death or
 any other Means the Compiler of it was hindred
 from executing his Design, it’s plain enough,
 that the Part of it which belongs to Britain
 ends with the Beginning, instead of the End,
 of King Edward’s Reign, A. D. 1460. What
 seems to make it probable, that this was owing
 to the Compiler’s dying before he had finished
 what he undertook is, That in an Edition of
 this Book in Bennet Col. Library, in the Con-
 tents of the *seventh* and last Part, these Words
 are used: *Here begynnys the vij part continuing*
to our daies that is to say to the regne of King
Edward the iiii, the xxiii yere. However this
 be, at the End of this Prologue is printed,

¶ *Explicit Prologus.*

¶ *Hic incipit fructus temporum.*

‘ Bycause of this boke’s made to tel what
 ‘ tyme of any thyng notable was, therfore the
 ‘ begynnynge of all tymes shortly shall be
 ‘ touchid:’ And, accordingly the History of the

E

Crea-

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Creation of the World is here related. When this Writer comes to speak of *Ascanius* the 7th kynge of *Italy*, having told his Readers, that he was Son to *Eneas*, and built the City of *Albyon*, and was called the kynge of the *Albans*, that he gate *Sylvius* the 8th kynge of *Italy*, and, that *Sylvius* was Father unto *Brute* kynge of *Brytaine* now called *Englonde*, he adds, *I leve of the kynges of Ytaly, for they dyd but lytell noble thynges, tyll it becomen to Romulus and Remus that buylded Rome.*— And now to proceed to the cronycles of *Englonde*, for the whiche namely this boke is made. Then follows:

¶ *Incipit regnum Britanie nunc dict̄ Anglia.*

Here this Writer seems to have had the Assistance of one of our MS. *English* Chronicles (the same that *Caxton* printed, if he did not print from that) from whose Sense he no wise varies, though the language and expressions are not always just alike. Thus they both begin:

MS. Chronicle.

Here may a man hur
how Englonde was
fyrst callede Albyon
and aftir who hit hadde
that name.

In the noble londe of
Syrrie ther was a noble
king,

*Fructus temporum, &c.
ed. 1515.*

¶ *Afore that I wyll
speke of Brute it shall
be shewid howe the londe
of Englonde was first
named Albyon and by
what encheyson it was so
named.*

*Of the noble londe of
Sirrie ther was a ryal
kynge*

king, a stronge man | *kyng and myghty and*
 and a mighty af body | *a man of grete renowne*
 and af grete name that | *that was callede Diocle-*
 men callid Diocletian | *syen that wel and wor-*
 that wel and worthely | *thely him governed and*
 governed him through | *ruled through his noble*
 his gode chivalry. Soo | *chivalry. Soo that —*
 that —

¶ *Explicit prima pars.*

¶ Here begynneth now how *Brute* was goren,
 and how he slewe first his moder, and after his
 father, and how he conquered *Albyon* that after
 he named *Brytayne* after his owne name that
 now is callyd *Englond* after the name of *Engist*
 of *Saxonie*. ¶ This *Brute* came into *Brytayne*
 about the 18th yere of *Heley*. That is, ac-
 cording to this Writer's Computation, in the
 Year of the World 4025, and before the Birth
 of *Christ*, 1114.

¶ Here begynneth the *fourth* aege durynge
 to the transfiguration. In this part the Jewish
 History is mixed with that of *Britaine* to the
 Year of the World 4600. Then begins the
fifth aege of the worlde durynge to the Nati-
 vitie of *Christe*: In which is intermixed the
 Historie of the *Jews*, *Persians*, *Romans*, *Greeks*,
Britains and *Egyptians*. Next begins the *sixth*

^a *Christus natus est ex Virgine Maria Anno Mundi 5193. The*
 vulgar Year of *Christ* is reckoned to be in the Year of the World
 4010. and of the *Jul. Per.* 4714. by others 4001. and of the
Julian Period 4710. *Bedford's Scripture Chronology*, p. 746.
Strauchius says in the Year of the *Julian Period* 4714. *Brevia-*
rium Chrono. p. 369. *Nich. Man.* 4707. *Of the true Year of the*
Birth of Christ, p. 22.

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age at *Crystys Natyvyte*, which is here placed in the Year of the World 5193, and dures to the final jugement havyng yeres as God knoweth. In this part is given an account of the Ordre of Popes of *Rome*, with whom, it is here said, God lefte his power, and of the succession and actes of the Kings of *Britaine* to about the Year of *Cbrist* 449. Then begyns the *fyfthe* part of the Book duryng from the coming of the *Saxons* to that of the *Danes* about the Year of our Lord 449. Then follows an account of the Roman Emperors and Popes; a Note, that *Englond* was long time cristened afore *France*; and some account of *Mahomet*. Then comes the History of the *Danish* and *Norman* Princes with that of the Popes of *Rome* intermixed with it. *Wyllyam* bastard, Duke of *Normandy*, is here said, agreeable to the common account, to come into *Englond*, A. D. 1066. After the History of his Reign follows that of the Popes, which is the method used in the remaining part of this book. The chronicles of *England* end with the Coronation of K. *Edward* IV. 1460. After this follows some account of Pope *Calixtus* III, of his being chosen 1455; and a Note of the increase of Printers 1457; and some account of Pope *Pius* II. who is here said to have been chosen 1458.

All this plainly relates to the reign of K. *Henry* VI. But then follows an account of *Paul* II. *Poules* a Venetian being Pope, and chosen 1464: of *Leodium* the londe of *luke* being oppressed, and in the Year 1468. utterly destroyed by *Charles* duke of *Burgundy*. Lastly, of Pope *Xystus*. *Sixtus* IV a *Johannes* and a frere minor, who

was chosen 1471. and called *Franciscus de Sanona* *. ' He, for an armye to be made agenst * *Savona.*
' the *Turke*, gave grete Indulgences of pardon
' of the tresori of *the chyrche* unto all crysten
' reames, that he myght ordeyne some tresore
' to withstande the mysbelevd Turke. And in
' the londe of *Englonde*, *John* abbot of *Abyng-*
' *don* was the Pope's legate to dyspose this
' goodli treasoure of the chyrche to every feyth-
' ful man that was disposed, and that wolde able
' hym to receyve it. He died of Grief and *Onuphrius*
the Gout, *A. D.* 1484 ^b. *de vitis*
Ponti.

Three Years after, 1486, was printed here
the following Book thus entituled :

' The lynage of Coot Armuris, and how *Annales*
' gentylmen shal be known from ungentilmen, *Typogra.*
' —the blasyn of almaner armys in Latyn, *Pepys's Lib.*
' Frenshe and Englyshe : the bokes of hawk- *brary.*
' yng and huntyng with othir plesuris diverse,
' translatyt and compylt togedyr at seynt
' *Albons* 1486. fol.' At the end is this co-
lophon.

¶ ' Here in thys boke afore are contenyt the
bokys of haukyng and huntyng with othir
plesurys dyuerse, as in the boke apperis, and
also of coot armuris a nobull werke. And here
nowe endith the boke of blasyn of armys
translatyt and compylt togedyr at seynt Albons

^b This seems to confirm what I before intimated, that the Col-
lector, tho' he lived to finish the *Fructus Temporum*, yet died before
he could compile the History of *K. Edward's* Reign.

^c Another Edition of this Book was printed by de *Worde* at
Westmestre, *A. D.* 1396.

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the yere from thyncarnacyon of oure Lorde
Jhu Crist MCCCCLXXXVI.

Hic finis diſſorum .pergeneroſis valde utilium
ut intuentibus patebit.



Sanctus Albanus.

It is observed of the Books printed at this Press, and particularly of this last, that they are printed with a Letter much resembling that used by Mr. *Caxton* in his first Works. From whence it has been supposed, that he and this learned Collector of foreign History, &c. were acquainted, and, that Mr. *Caxton* taught him his Art of Printing, and furnished him with a Press and Types to print at *St. Albans*.

A. D. 1481. About the same time that the above-mentioned Printing-Press was set up at *St. Albans*, there seems to have been two more in the City of *London* by *John Lettou* or *Letton*, and *William de Machlinia*, who by their Names should be *Germans*. They printed together and a-part. Of the Books printed by them we have the three following preserved:

1. *Jacobus de Valencia* in Psalterium. —
excus. incivitate Londoniensi ad expensas Wilhelmi Wilcock per me Johannem Lettou
MCCCCLXXXI. fol.

2. *Spe-*

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2. *Speculum Christiani* — Istelibellus impressus est in opulentissima civitate Londoniarum per Willelmum de Machlinia, ad instantiam nec non expensas Henrici Urkenbergh mercatoris: Without any Date, or Name of Place.

3. *Littleton's Tenures*. — At the End of the Book is printed this Colophon.

¶ Expliciūt Tenores nouelli Imp̄m p̄ nos Johez lettou & Willz de machlinia in Citate Londoniare juxta ecc'az oim Scorze.

Of this Book Sir *William Dugdale* has given the following wrong and inaccurate account: *Orig. Jur. ridi. p. 58. Ed. 1671.*

'*Littleton's* tenures, compiled by *Thomas Littleton*, one of the Justices of the Common-Plees [it should be of the King's-Bench] Temp. *Edw. IV.* wherein he had great furtherance from Sir *John Prisot*, Lord chief Justice of the same Court [the Court of King's-Bench] Temp. *Hen. VI.* Impr. *Rothomagi* per *Rich. Pynson*, Temp. *Hen. VIII.* Nec non Temp. ejusdem Regis *H. 8.* in Civitate Londoniarum juxta Ecclesiam Omnium Sanctorum per *Johannem Lettow* et *Will. de Machlinia*, in folio.' It appears by this Book of Sir *William's*, that one *John Latton* was Autumn Reader of the Inner-Temple 16 and 17 *Hen. VIII.* double Reader in *Lent* 24 *Hen. VIII.* and Treasurer of the same Society 26 *Hen. VIII.* From hence it has been guessed, that *he* and our Printer were the same Person, or rather, that *Lettou* or *Letton* was not a Printer, but an eminent Lawyer who procured de *Machlinia* to

print this learned and useful Law-Book. But the great Objection seems to be, that *Lettou* is named by himself as the Printer of *Jacobus de Valentia* in Psalterium, and, that it was then customary, when any Book was printed at the Request of any particular Person, for the Printer to intimate, that it was so printed; as we see both these Printers did. However this be, these two Printers tell us that they printed near *All-ballows* Church in *London*; but there are so many Churches in that City of this Name, that one cannot now determine from hence whereabouts their Presses were. However it is observed, that the Letter used by these two Printers is a very coarse *Gothic* one, and more rude than *Caxton's*; and, that by this it should seem, that they both came from *Mentz*, or were some of the first Printers who were not quite Masters of their Art.

After so long a Digression, to give what Account I could of these new Printing-Presses at *St. Albans* and *London*, it may be thought, perhaps, high Time I should return to Mr. *Caxton*, whom we left following his Business of Printing with his usual Application in the Abby of *Westminster*. In 1481. then he printed a Book called *Godfrey of Bologne*, or the last Siege and Conquest of *Jerusalem*, with many Histories therein comprised, *Fol.* of which some Notice has been taken before. This, Mr. *Caxton* tells us, was translated and reduced by him out of *Frenske* into *Englishe* in thabbaye of *Westmistre*, to thende, that every cristen man may be the better encouraged tenterprise warre for the defence of cristendome, and to recover the said cyle
of

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of Jerusalem. — and ^d presented by him unto the mooste cristen Kynge Edw. III. and ' that it ' was begun the 12th of Marche, fynished the ' 7th day of Juyn and enprynted the 20th of ' Novembre 21 yere of Edw. III.' The cronycles of *England* printed by Mr. Caxton give us the following general Account of this Expedition, viz. ' That in the yere 1061. Gregory ' VII. called a counseyll at *Turon* for the holy ' londe to be wonne agen, and pryvokid the ' peple to that matere, — and it was sayd and ' beleved, that two hundred thousand crysten ' men went to that journey. For there wente ' of states olde men and yonge, and also ryche ' and poore, and no man compellyd theym. ' And this passage was made by the vyfyon of ' our ladie. And the prynces of this people ' were dyuerse. One was *Godfroye de Boloyne*, ' a full nobleman of all the worlde, and a ver- ' tuous man. And another was *Beemonde* the ' duke of *Naples*: And the thyrde was *Hugbe* ' the Kynge's brother of *Fraunce*, and many ' other, the whiche dyde full nobly for the ' fayth of god. And it were to long in this ' boke to reherce the glorious actes that they ' dyde.'

This same Year Mr. Caxton is said to have printed *thystorye of Reynard or Reynart the Fox*, 4to. of which the late Mr. *Hearne* of *Oxford* gave this Character, That it is an admirable Thing, and the Design very good, viz. to represent a wise and polite Government. In the first Page of it is Mr. Caxton's Cipher W. R. C.

A. D.
1481.

^d *Godfrey of Bulloigne* of the Siege and Conquest of *Jerusalem* (being King *Edward* the IVth's Book.) *Biblioth. Smithiana*, p. 275.

Caxton

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Caxton gives the following Account of it, and his printing it: 'Wherin, says he, ben wreton
' the Parable of good Leryng——for an ex-
' ample to the peple, &c. For I have not added
' ne mynyshed but have followed as nigh as I can
' my copy whiche was in Dutche, and by me
' *Wyllyam Caxton* translated into this rude and
' symple Englyshe in the Abbaye of *Westmestre*
' the viith day of *Juyn* in the Yere of our Lord
' mccccclxxxi. and in the xxi yere of the reigne
' of kyng *Edward* the iiiith.'

xiiith Day
of Aug.
1481.

In *August* this Year *Mr. Caxton* likewise en-
printed into English, as he expressed himself,
Tully of old age. This, he tells us, 'was tran-
' slated, and thystories openly declared by
' thordenaunce and desire of the noble auncient
' knight *Sir Joban Faldstoff* of the Countee of
' *Norfolk* bannerette, lyvyng thage of four-
' score yeres, enduryng the fayte of armes
' haunting. And in admynstryng justice and
' politique governaunce under thre kynges,
' that is to wete *Henry* the fourthe, *Henry* the
' fyfthe, and *Henry* the sixthe; And was go-
' vernour of the duchye of *Angeou* and the
' countee of *Mayne*; Capytayne of many
' townys, castellys and fortressys in the sayd
' Royame of *France*, havynge the charge and
' saufgarde of them dyuerse yeres; occupyng
' and rewlynge thre hundred speres, and the
' bowes accustomed thenne, and yeldyng good
' accompt of the forsayd townes, castellys and
' fortresleys to the seyde kynges, and to theyr
' lyeutenantes, prynces of noble recommen-
' dation, as *Joban* regent of *Fraunce* duc of
' *Bedford*, *Thomas* duc of *Excestre*, *Thomas*
' duc of *Clarence*, and other lyeutenants.'

In

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In 1459 this great man was siezed with an hectic fever and asthma, under which he laboured for 148 days till S. Leonard's feast, November 6, when he died, and was buried in the Abby of St. Bennet of Hulme in Norwich.

Register of the Order of the Garter, Vol. II. p. 140, 141.

Our Antiquary Leland observed, that the Translator of this discourse is not here named by Mr. Caxton. But a later writer tells us of a Memorial of Wyllyam de Wyrcestre alias Botaner which he has entred against the Year 1473, by which it appears, that he translated this book. To this purpose is the Memorandum in Latin: *The 20th day of August I presented to Wyllyam Waynflete Bishop of Winchester the book of Tully of old Age, translated by me into English.* This Wyllyam Wyrcestre was an antiquary and phisician, from whence, perhaps, he had the name of Botaner or Herbalist, and an Astronomer of great abilities for the age he lived in. He was born in the City of Bristol, Anno 1415. and sometye seruauante and soget withe his reuerent master John Fastolf Chevalier and exercised in the werres continually above 44 yeres: and in so grete favour with Sir John, that he left him one of the Executors of his last Will. He wrote a particular treatise containing Memoirs of Sir John's Life and Actions, which he entituled *Acta Domini Johannis*

De scriptor. Britann. Register of the Order of the Garter, Vol. II.

* In the MS. Library of Bennet Coll. is a MS. thus entituled, *Itinerarium Will. Worcestre de Bristol ad Montem S. Michaelis in An-Christi, 1478.*

† In some imperfect Memorandums printed by T. Hearne, and called by him *William Wyrcestre's Annals of English affairs* are only these two concerning Sir John Fastolf. That in the sixth and seventh Years of Henry 4. when Thomas, the King's second son who was afterward Duke of Clarence was made Lieutenant of Ireland,

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Johannis Fastolf, but whether in *English* or *Latin* is altogether uncertain. But however, this english translation of this book of *Tully's* printed by *Caxton*, by whomsoever made, is not from the original Latin, but, as Mr. *Caxton* informs us, from the Frenshe by *Laurence de primo facto* at the commaundement of the noble Prince *Lewis* duc of *Bourbon*. Mr. *Caxton* adds, 'That this book, thus reduced into english, was with grete instaunce, laboure and coste comen into his honde, and, that he advysedly had seen over, redde, and considered the noble, honeste and vertuous mater necessarily requisite unto men stepte in age, and to yonge men for to lerne how they ought to come to the same, to which every man naturally desyreth to atteyne.'

With this Book of *Tully's* of Old Age Mr. *Caxton* printed another of the same Orator's of *Friendship*. For this he gave the following Reason, 'bycause ther cannot be annexed to olde age a better thyng than good and very friendship. This book therefore he put in print, to thentent, that veray amyte and frendship may be had as it ought to be in every state and degree and vertue, without which frendship may not be had, may be encreased, and vices eschewid.' This book, Mr. *Caxton* tells us, was 'translated into our maternal english by the vertuous and noble lord *Typtoft* sherle of *Worcester* which in his time flowred in vertue and cunning', to whom he knew none like emonge the lordes of the temporalitie in science and moral vertue,

* Knowledge.

Ireland, *John Fastolf*, who was then only an Esquire was continually with him: And that 1459, the King kept his Christmas at *Leicester*, and *James Ormound* Earl of *Wilt* was during the said festival at *John Fastolf's* house in *Southwerk*.

and

‘and which late pytously lost his lyfe.’ For being Lieutenant of *Ireland* under the Duke of *Clarence* King *Edward*’s Brother, and falling into the Hands of the opposite Party during the short Restoration of King *Henry VI.* Advantage was taken of that Opportunity, and he accused of exercising in *Ireland* more extreme Cruelty than princely Pity, or charitable Compassion, and in especial on two *enfantes being sonnes to the erle of Desmond*, and atteinted for treason and beheaded: Tho’ the Historian, who gives this Account of him, intimates there was a strong Suspicion, that this severe Usage of this noble and worthy Lord proceeded from *malyce against him conceyved*, or, that he fell a Sacrifice to party Anger and Revenge.

With these two Books of Tully’s were printed, by Mr. Caxton, two very elegant Orations of ‘*Banatusius Magnomontanus*, supposed to be spoken by *Cornelius Scipio* and *Gaius Flaminius*, who were Rivals in the Courtship of *Lucretia*, the Daughter of *Fulvius*: The Design or Argument of which, is to shew *wherin honoure shoulde reste or consist*. These Orations, Mr. Caxton tells us, were likewise translated by the right vertuous and noble *therle of Worcester*, in whose Praise he thus farther enlarges: ‘His soule, says he, I recomende unto your special prayers, who also in his tyme made many other vertuous werkys which I have heard of. O good blessyd Lord GOD! what great losse was it of that noble, vertuous and wel disposed lord? when I remembre and advertyse his lyf, his science and his vertue, methynketh,

‘*J. Leland, Comm. de Script. Britann, p. 48.*

' god not displeased, over grete a losse of suche
 ' a man, considering his estate and conning,
 ' and also the exercise of the same, with the grete
 ' laboures in goyng on pylgremage unto *Jbe-*
 ' *rusalem*, vvisyting there the holy Places that
 ' oure blessyd. Lord *Jhesu Criste* halowed with
 ' his blessyd presence, and shedyng there his
 ' precious blood for our redempcion, And from
 ' thens ascended unto His Fader in heven. And
 ' what worship had he at *Rome* in the ' presence
 ' of our holy fader the Pope? and so in alle
 ' other Places unto his deth. At which deth
 ' every man that was there might lerne to die,
 ' and take his deth patiently, wherein I hope and
 ' doubt not but, that G O D receyved his soule
 ' into his everlastyng blysse. For, as I am en-
 ' formed, he ryght advysedly ordeyned alle his
 ' thynges, as well for his last Will of worldly
 ' goodes, as for his soule's helthe, and pacyent-
 ' ly and holyly without grudchyng in charite
 ' * Before. * to fore that he departed out of this worlde,
 ' which is gladsome and joyous to here.' Of
 this Translation of these two Orations, made by
 this noble Lord, *Leland* observed, That ' it
 ' was so terse, neat and significant, that it might
 ' well be doubted whether the Author of them
 ' wrote, or he translated with greater Grace.'
 Mr. Caxton adds, That ' this lytil Volume, a

^a Nullus per aliquot secula nobilitate insignis hospes urbi [*Roma*]
 gratior erat *Tipetore*: Cujus humanitas, candor, splendor etiam et
 iacundia *Ciceroniana* illa Romanorum omnium cum oculos, tum
 mentes ita occupabant et possidebant quoque, ut cælitus illum eo
 demissum, tanquam Numen, non modo crederent, verum etiam
 colerent. *J. Leland*, *ibid.*

ⁱ Affirmat *Phœas Pium II^m* Pontificem, audita ejus oratione
 longè disertissima, qua se totum illi et purpuratorum choro patrum
 concredidit, præ gaudio quod inde acceperat, plane incredibili,
 lachrymas fudisse. *J. Leland*, *ibid.*

'thin 4°, he had empyrised temprynce under
'the Umbre and shadowe of the noble protec-
'cion of oure moost dradde soverayn and moost
'cristen kyng *Edward* the fourthe, to whom
'he moost humbly bysought to receyve the sayd
'book of him *William Caxton* his most humble
'suget and litil servant, and not to disdayne to
'take it of him so poure, ignoraunt and simple
'a persone.'

The next Year we find Mr. *Caxton* employ'd
in printing a celebrated Book, and often quoted
by our ancient Writers, entitled *Polychronicon*.
This was the Work of one ^{A. D.} *Ranulph Higden*,
or *Hikeden*, commonly called *Ralpb Cbester*, an
English Benedictine Monk of the Monastery of
St. *Werburch's* in *Cbester*, about the Year 1357,
in which he ends his Collection. He is sup-
posed to have been beholden, for a great Part of it,
to a Monk of the same House, one ^{1482.} *Roger*, who
lived about *A. D.* 1330, and wrote a large Ac-
count of the Affairs of this Nation, which he
entitled, *Polycratia temporum*, and began it
with the coming in of the *Romans*, others say
the Beginning of the World, and continued it
to the Year 1329. At the Command of *Thomas*

Englis
Hisor.
Library.

* *Ranulfus Higden Monachus Cestrensis*, Scripsit varii generis
variarum que gentium historiam in septem libris, orsus a Mundi
origine, eamque texens ad annum Christi 1363. quo obiit, quam
Polychronicon appellant, nobile opus. *J. Yesselius*, Cata. Histori.

¹ *Rogerus Cestrensis* Polycratia temporum edidit, Opus elegans
ac rotundum, a Mundi initio usque ad annum Domini 1327. quod
incipit; *Intrabo in agros priscorum subseq.* Composuit etiam addi-
tiones quindecim annorum que incipiunt, septimo anno Regis *Ed-*
wardi II., Polycraticorum vero primus liber post prefationem in-
cipit; *Julius Cæsar divinis humanisque rebus, &c.* Claruit hic
Cestrius, Anno a Christi nativitate 339 quo ultimatum opus finit sub
Edwardo III. *Idem.*

Word

Lord Barkley, was a " Part of this Chronicle translated into *English* by his Chaplain *John Trevisa*, a *Cornishman* by Birth, and Vicar of *Barcley* in *Gloucestershire*, where my Lord dwelt. His Translation begins with '*Julius Cesar*, by counsell of the Senators of *Rome*, ordeynnyng wise men and ready to measure and describe all the worlde about.' This Book Mr. Caxton now undertook to put in print, and added a Continuation of it to 1460, collected by himself; which was finished by him at the Press the 2d of *Juyll* 1482, in the 22d of *Edward IV*, or the last Year of his Reign. In an Epilogue printed by him at the End of this Book, he gives the following Account of it, and of the Reasons which induced him to print it.

' Thus, saith he, endeth the boke namyd *Policronycon* made and compyled by *Ranulph Monke of Cbestre*, which ordeyned it in *Latin*, and att request of the ryght worshipful lorde *Thomas lorde of Berkley* it was translated into *Englishe* by one *Trevisa* thenne *Vicarye* of the *Paryshe* of *Berkley*. And forasmuche as sythe the accomplismente of this sayd boke made by the sayd *Ranulph* ended the yere of oure lorde a thousand thre hundred . VII. fyfty and . VIII, many thynges have falle whiche ben requysyte to be added to this worke; bycause mennes wytte in this time ben oblyvious and lyghtly forgetyng many

" What *Higden* wrote relating to the Times of the *Britains* and *Saxons* was not translated by *Trevisa*. It was published by *Dr. Gale* in *Latin* at *Oxford* 1691. but from a MS. which is not the best. *English Histor. Library*.

' thynges * digne to be putte in memory; and * worthy.
 ' also there cannot be founde in thise dayes but
 ' fewe that wryte in theyr regystres suche
 ' thynges as dayly happe and fall; therefore I
 ' *Wylliam Caxton* a symple persone, have en-
 ' devoyred me to wrytte first over al the sayd
 ' booke of *Polythronycon* and somewhat have
 ' chaunged the rude and olde englissh, that is
 ' to wryte certayn wordes which in thise dayes
 ' ben nother used ne understonde: and ferder-
 ' more have put it in emprynte, to thende, that
 ' it may be hadde, and that matters therin com-
 ' prised to be know. For the boke is generall
 ' touchyng shortly many notable materes; And
 ' also am avysed to make a nother boke after
 ' this said werke, whiche shall be sette here af-
 ' ter the same, and shall have his chapitours
 ' and hys table aparte. For I dare not presume
 ' to sette my boke ne joyne it to *his* for dyvers
 ' causes. One is for as moche as I have not, ne
 ' can gete no bokes of auctorytee treatynge of
 ' suche Cronycles, except a lytyl boke named
 ' *Fasciculus temporum*, and another called *Au-*
 ' *reus de universo*, in whiche bokes I fynde right
 ' lytyll matere * syth the sayd time. And another * since.
 ' cause is, for as moche as my rude symplenesse,
 ' and ygnoraunte makynge ought not to be com-
 ' pared, sette, ne joyned to his boke. Thenne I
 ' shalle by the grace of god set my werke after,
 ' a parte, for to accomplish the yeres syth that
 ' he fynysshed his boke unto the yere of our
 ' lord 1460, and the *fyrste* yere of the regne of
 ' Kyng *Edwarde* the fourthe which amount to
 ' an hundred and thre yere: which is agree-
 ' able to the Date of the Conclusion of this
 ' Chronicle, viz. 1357.

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One cannot well help observing here, the great Modesty and Humility of Mr. Caxton, how mean an Opinion he had of himself and his Works, and with what Deference and Respect he treated others and their learned Labour. It is likewise obvious to remark what Mr. Caxton says of the Alteration of the *English* Language in his Time; which was so great, that there were many Words in *Trevisa's* Translation of the *Polychronicon*, which, in his Days, were neither used nor understood. Now it was but an hundred and twenty four Years since that Translation was made; whereas Archbishop *Parker* noted it as very strange, that our Language should be so changed in four hundred Years from his time, that the Manuscript Book of the *Lives of the Saints*, written about A. D. 1200, in old *English* Verse, now in *Bennet* College Library, was so written, that People could not understand it. This seems owing to the generous Endeavours of those two great Genius's, *Chaucer* and *Gower*, to polish and improve their Mother-tongue. However this be, Mr. Caxton tells us elsewhere, that for this Liberty taken by him in changing the old and obsolete Language of the ancient Books which he printed, he was variously censured and reflected on. Some gentlemen, he said, blamed him, saying, that in his translations he had 'overcurious termes whiche coude not be understoode of comyn peple, and desired him to

He was a great mingler of *English* with *French*, into which language, by like for that he was descended of *French*, or rather *Walloon* race, he carried a great affection. Since the time of *Chaucer* more *Latin* and *French* hath been mingled with our tongue than left out of it. *For* *French* *restitution*, *C. p. 222. Ed. 2.*

Catal.
Lib. MS.
in Bib. C.
Corp. Xⁱⁱ
Cantab.

Pref. to
Eneydos,
1490.

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use olde and homely termes in his transla-
 cions. As he sayn wolde, he said, satisfye every
 man so to doo he toke an olde booke and redde
 therein, but certaynly the englyshe was so rude
 and broad, that he coude not wele under-
 stande it: also the lord abbot of *Westmynster* ded
 do shewe to him late certayn evidences wry-
 ton in olde englyshe for to reduce it into our
 englyshe then used: but, that it was wryton
 in such wyse, that it was more lyke to *duche*
 then *englyshe*, so that he coude not reduce, ne
 brynge it to be understonden. And certaynly
 continued he, our language now used varyeth
 ferre from that which was spoken when I was
 borne. For we Englyshe men ben borne un-
 der the domynacyon of the Mone which is ne-
 ver stedfaste, but ever waverynge, waxing one
 season, and waneth and dyscreaseth another
 season. And that comyn englyshe that is spo-
 ken in one thyre varyeth from another. To
 explain this he tells the following Story: In
 my dayes, saith he, happened, that certayn
 marchauntes were in a ship in *Tamysse* for to
 have saylen over the see into *Zeland*, and for
 lacke of wynde thei taried atte *Forlana*, and
 wente to lande for to refreshe them. And
 one of them named *Shiffelde* a mercer, cam
 into an howe and axed for mere, and pecyva-
 ly he axyd after eggys. And the good wyf an-

This is different from *Kerles*'s Observation, That the old
 French and old English had 900 Years ago, or A. D. 700, as great
 affinity together as our Northern and Southern English have at this
 day. Had he said the old Dutch and old English, he had been
 righter.

North Foreland, is the Isle of *Tenet*, where, to this Day, is an
 abundance of Saxon Words used. See the History of this Island, 1737.

1737.

F 2

swerede,

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'swerede, that she coude speak no *Frenshe*.
 'And the marchaunt was angry, for he also
 'coude speke no *Frenshe*, but wolde have hadde
 'egges, and she understode him not. And
 'thenne, at last, another sayd, that he wolde
 'have *eyren*, then the good wyf sayd, that she
 'understood *bym* wel.' On which Mr. Caxton
 made this Remark; 'Loo what shold a man in
 'thyse dayes now wryte, *egges*, or *eyren*? cer-
 'tainly it is harde to playse every man bycause
 'of dyversite and chaunge of langage. For in
 'these dayes every man that is in any reputa-
 'cyon in his countre wyll utter his commyn-
 'cacion and maters in suche maners and termes
 'that fewe men shall understonde theym.' On
 the other hand, Mr. Caxton informs his Readers,
 'That some honest and grete clerkes had ben
 'wyth him and desyred him to wryte the moste
 'curyous termes that he coude fynde. And thus,
 '(added he) bytwene playn rude, and curyous
 * *confused*, I stande * *abafshed*. But in my judgmente the
 out of coun- *comyn* termes that be daily used ben lyghter
 tenance. *to be understonde than the olde and sun-*
cyent englyshe. He therefore concluded, for
 'a meane bytwene both, and to reduce and
 'translate into our englyshe not over rude ne
 'curyous, but in such terms as should be un-
 'derstanden by goddys grace according to his
 'cople.

What Mr. Caxton here observes of the Scar-
 city of Materials for his Design of continuing
 the *Polychronicon*, &c. shews how little Regard
 was had, at that Time, to the History of this
 Kingdom. But, however he might fail in his

* See *Sewel's Dictionary*, V. E.

Search

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Search after the Registers and Chronicles of those Times, so as to light upon only the two little Books which he mentions. *John Stow*, in his *Summary of the English Chronicles*, refers to several others: As *Robert Avesbury*, Registrary of the Archbishop of Canterbury's Court, *Thomas de la More*, *John Rouse*, or *Rosse*, *Thomas Walsingham*, *John Tinnmouth's Historia aurea*, &c. Some of these have been since printed; and about * five Years ago were printed * 1732. at Oxford * two other old Writers of English Affairs, who continued their History to Edward the IVth's Reign; the Period chosen by Mr. Caxton. But some of these have been represented as a Sett of very ordinary Scriblers; as *Otterbourne*, &c. The two little Books which Mr. Caxton mentions, are not, so far as I can find, in any of the Catalogues of our MS. English Libraries. However, it has been observed, that the *fifteenth Century*, or from A. D. 1400, to 1500, was one of the most rude and illiterate Ages; and, that therefore we are not to look for a large Harvest of Historians in a dearth and scarcity of Persons eminent in other Parts of Learning: and, particularly of the Reign of King *Edward IV*, that even the Favourers of Justice and his Cause have not known what Account to give of the Times; or how to form a regular History out of such a vast Heap of Rubbish and Confusion; which, perhaps, was

* Duo rerum Anglicarum scriptores vetores, viz. *Tho. Otterbourne* et *Joan. Walsingham* ab origine gentis Britanice usque ad *Edwardum IV*. 2 Vol. Oxoniae 1732.

* *Josceline* mentions one entitled, *Manipulus Chronicorum*, which he said was in *Aula Gunwilli*. Mr. *Maittaire* has given us Notice of the following Book, *Fasciculus temporum*, per *Joannem Pryth* anno dñi 1487. *Argentini*, Fol.

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the Reason why Mr. Caxton did not care to
muddle with it.

In the MS. of *Trevisa's* Translation of the
Polychronicon he gives the following Account
of the Time when he ended it. 'God be
thanked of all his dedes; this translation is
ended in a thursday, the eyghtenthe day of
ayril: the yere of our lord a thousand three
hundred fourscore and sevene, the tenth yere
of King Richard the second after the conquest
of Engelande, the yere of my lordes age, sire
Thomas of Berkly that made me make this
translation five and thrytty.' In transcribing
this, Mr. Caxton wrote and printed a thousand
three hundred fifty and seven, the one and thrytty
yere of K. Edward the thyrde after the Conquest.
This has been reflected on as done through ei-
ther Ignorance or Design. One would think it
could not be done through Ignorance; and
what Advantage it could be to Mr. Caxton to
make this Alteration designedly, I cannot see.
It seems as if he thought *Trevisa's* or his Ma-
nuscript, mistaken, and designed to correct it;
since the Date he mentions is the same with
that of the Conclusion of the *Polychronicon*, or
when that was ended; which Mr. Caxton seems
to have confounded with the Time of *Trevisa's*
ending his *English* Translation of it. However
this be, next after it is the *Epilogue* before men-
tioned. Then follows, *Incipit liber ultimus*,
to which is prefix'd this short Prologue, or
Preface.

Thenne following this fore wyrtten booke of
Polychronicon, I have enterprysed to undertake
the *French* Word for *April*.

this newe booke bi the sufferance of almighty
god to contynue the sayd werke bryeffly, and
to sette in history all thynges such as I
myght gete from the tyme that be leste. That
was in the yere of oure lorde 1357, unto
the yere of our said lorde 1460, and to the
first yere of the regne of kynge Edward
the fourth. This new Booke consists of thir-
ty three litle Chapters; and is thus concluded:
And here I make an ende of this lytell werke
as nygh as I can fynde after the forme of the
werke to fore made by Ranulph monke of
Chester. And where as there is sawe I be-
seeche them that shall rede it to correcte it:
for yf I coude have sounde moo storyes I
woude have sett in it moo. But the sub-
staunce that I can fynde and knowe I have
shortly set them in this boke, to shewen, that
suche thynges as have ben done syth the birth
or end of the sayd boke of Polychronicon,
should be hadde in remembraunce, and not
put in oblyvion or forgot, prayenge all them
that shall se this symple werke to pardon me
of my symple wrytyng.

Finis ultimi libri.

The
In a Catalogue of our English Historians, made by the learned
John Tosselyn, for the Use of Archbishop Parker, we have the
following Account of this Polychronicon: That it is in seven Books,
and begins at the Creation, and ends 1363, in which Year Henry
died: That John Trevisa translated it into English, and wrote
Continuations of it containing 55 Years from A. D. 1363, to
A. D. 1397, in which Trevisa himself flourished: That William
Caxton wrote Appendices to Trevisa, which are continued to
the Year 1460, where Trevisa's Additions end, to the Year 1460.
The learned Mr. Selden observed, That this Translation of the Po-
lychronicon, had been twice printed [by Caxton and de Worde] and
continued by the Translator John Trevisa, even to the Beginning
of Edward the Fourth's Reign. The most Reverend Archbishop
Usher

A. D.
1483.

The next Year, Mr. Caxton printed no fewer than the following Books.

Thores-
by's Mu-
seum.
P. 544.

Annales
Typogra.

1. *The Pilgrimage of the Soul.* This was translated out of *Frenshe* into *Englisch*, with somewhat of Addition, and empyrnted at *Weshmestre* and fynished the *finch* day of *Juyn* the yere of our Lord 1483, and the first yere of the Regne of Kynge *Edward* the fyfthe. It was written in *French* by *Antoine Gerard*, and entituled, by him, *Le Pelerinage de l'Amé*, and printed at *Paris* A. D. 1480. At the Beginning of *Caxton's Englisch* Edition of it is printed,

' This book is intytled *the Pylgremage of the Sowle*, translated oute of *frenshe* into *Englyshe*, which booke is full of devoute maters touching the *sowle*, and many questyons to cause a man to lyve the better in this world, and it conteyneth five bookes, as it appeareth hereafter by chapyters.

Usher observed, from *Bishop Bale*, That *Trevisa* continued the *Polychronicon* from A. D. 1342, to A. D. 1397, in which *Trevisa* himself flourished, under King *Richard II.* And my learned and industrious Predecessor, Mr. *Henry Wharton*, tells us, That 'his Grace was led into the Mistake by Mr. *Caxton*, of representing *Trevisa* 'wrong;' as if he had wrote, That he ended his Translation A. D. 1397, instead of A. D. 1387. These are Escapes of these learned Men. I only add, That *de Worde*, in his *Preface* to his Edition of the *Englisch Polychronicon*, A. D. 1495, tells us, in Imitation of his Master *Caxton*, That he had 'added such stories as he conde fynde' fro the ende that *Rannulph* fynished his book which was 1457 unto the yere 1495, which ben an hundred and thirty eight Yere. In the *Cottonian Library* is a Manuscript of the latter Part of this History, which ends A. D. 1326, and is continued by some unknown Hand, to the 15th of King *Richard II.* or A. D. 1392.

He began to reign April 9, 1483, and was murder'd and succeeded by his Uncle *Richard III.* June 22, the same Year.

The Liber of William Caxton.

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now on burning At the End. 1527 1780 54 T.

' Here endeth the dreame of pylgremage of
' the soule translatid out of frensche in to Eng-
' lish with somewhat of addicions, the yere of
' oure lorde mcccc and thyrten, and endeth in
' the vigyle of Seynt Bartholomew.

' Emprynted at Westmestre by William Caxton,
' and fynnyshed, as above.

2. *Liber Festivalis, or Directions for keeping Penes Feasts all the Year, 4°.* This Book begins with a Prologue which informs us of the Design of this Collection, viz. That for the helpe of suche clerkes this booke was drawn to excuse them for default of bookes and by simpleness of cunning, and to show unto the people what the Holy Saints suffered and did for GOD's sake, and for his Love, so that they should have the more devotion in GOD's Saints, and with the better will come to the Church to serve GOD, and pray His Saints of their help. Then follow Sermons on nineteen Sundays and Ferials, beginning with the first Sunday in Advent, and ending with Corpus Christi Day. Next are Discourses or Sermons on forty three Holy-days, viz.

- | | |
|--------------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1. St. Andrew | 8. St. Innocents |
| 2. St. Nicholas | 9. St. Thomas of Canterbury |
| 3. Conception of the B. Virgin | 10. Circumcision of our Lord |
| 4. St. Thomas | 11. Epiphany |
| 5. Nativ. of our Lord | 12. Conversion of St. Paul |
| 6. St. Stephen | |
| 7. St. John Evangelist | |

* About what Time this Booke was composed I do not certainly know.

13. Puri-

The LITURGY of William Caxton.

- | | |
|--|---|
| 13. Purification of <i>Mary</i> | 29. Name of <i>Jesus</i> |
| 14. <i>St. Matthew</i> | 30. <i>St. Laurence</i> the Martyr |
| 15. Annunciation of <i>Mary</i> | 31. Assumption of the <i>V. Mary</i> |
| 16. <i>St. George</i> the Martyr | 32. <i>St. Bartholomew</i> A-
postle |
| 17. <i>St. Mark</i> Evangelist | 33. Nativity of <i>B. Vir-
gin</i> |
| 18. <i>Philip</i> and <i>Jacob</i> | 34. Exaltation of Holy
Cross |
| 19. Invention of Holy
Cross | 35. <i>Jejunia</i> quatuordecim
porcum |
| 20. <i>St. John</i> ante Por-
tam Latinam | 36. <i>St. Matthew</i> Apostle |
| 21. <i>St. John</i> Baptist | 37. <i>St. Michael</i> |
| 22. <i>St. Peter</i> and <i>Paul</i> | 38. <i>St. Luke</i> Evangelist |
| 23. Visitation of <i>St. Mary</i> | 39. <i>St. Symon</i> and <i>Jude</i> |
| 24. Translation of <i>St. Tho-
mas</i> | 40. All Saints |
| 25. <i>St. Mary</i> Magdalen | 41. All Souls |
| 26. <i>St. James</i> | 42. <i>St. Martin</i> Archbp. |
| 27. <i>St. Ann</i> | 43. <i>St. Katherine</i> the
Virgin |
| 28. Transfiguration of
the Lord | |

Then follows a Sermon *de dedicatione Eccle-
sie* or, on the Church Holiday; at the End of
which is, *Explicit, Euphrasia* at Westminster
by William Caxton the laste daye of Iayn Anna
domini 1483. After this follows four Ser-
mons. The first of these begins thus; *The mar-
tyr of sentence in the seconde booke and firste di-*

Here in the Roman Edition 1499, follows, *A Sermon* of
to be found in the People, &c. entitled, *Humani generis*

1499. So called in an Edition printed in *celeberrima urbe Rothoma-*
gens, per Magistrum Martinum Morin. Ann domini Millesimo qua-
dringentesimo nonagesimo nono, die octava victricis festivitatis sancti
Junii, impensis Johannis Richardi.

Finction

*unction sayth, that the foverayn cause why god
 made al creatures in heven, erthe or water was
 his owne goodnesse.* — In it is the *Pater-noster*,
 or Lord's prayer, the xii Articles of the Faith, *Collet.*
 and the Ten Commandments in the *English* *Nº. III.*
 Tongue, with a short Paraphrase or Comment.
 And yet it appears by Bishop Longland's Regi-
 ster, 1521, almost forty Years after, That *several*
 'veral men and women of the Diocese of Lin- *AB: and*
 'colne were detected and uttered for teaching *Monu-*
 'and learning the *Pater Noster* and *Credo* in *ments, &c.*
 'English, and reciting the ten commandments *Vol. II.*
 'in their own houses in English.' And William
 Tindal observed to Sir Thomas More, That the
 Bishop of London, Fitz-James, would have
 made the old, or late, Dean Collet of St. Paul's,
 an Heretick for translating the *Pater Noster*
 into English: Though if it was no other than
 what is printed in the Primer of Salisbury Use
 at Paris, 1534, and entitled, *The seven Peti-*
tions of the Paternoster, by John Collet Deane of
 Pauls, and it was not a strict Translation, but
 only a Paraphrase. By a Constitution of Arch-
 bishop Peccham's, made at Lambeth, A.D.
 1281, the Articles of Faith, which are there
 said to be fourteen, are set down with a Sum-
 mary Brevity, that no one might excuse him-
 self by pleading Ignorance: and every Priest
 who presided over a People, or had a Cure of
 Souls, is required four Times a Year, or once a
 Quarter, to expound them to the People in the
 Vulgar Tongue. Accordingly, John Thoresby,
 Archbishop of York, A.D. 1352, made an
 'This Mr. Palmer's edition for the beginning of a printed
 Book.

English

Appendix or *Pointes that fallies to the truth*, &c. It began
 to Vicaria as this Sermon does; *Als that a grete clerk*
 Leodien- *shewes in his boke*, et est in secundo sententia-
 fia, p. 213. rum distinctione prima, &c. and was ordered
 Ed. 1724.

by the Archbishop to be read to the People. But by another Constitution made by Archbishop *Arundel*, A. D. 1408, it was ordain'd, That no body hereafter should by his own authority translate into *English* any Text of Holy Scripture, by the way of a book or little book, or treatise, nor that any one should read any such Translation, unless it was approved by the Diocesan of the Place, or, if need was, by a provincial Council, on pain of the greater excommunication, and being punished as a fautor of Heresie and Error. That is, as *Lyndwood* glosses, an enquiry might be made against such, and a Purgation be indicted at the Pleasure of the enquirer, in which if they should fail, they might be condemned as Hereticks. On this Constitution, I suppose, were the Persons mentioned in Bishop *Longland's* Register, persecuted and put to Death: But this the learned Mr. *Collier* styles *A severe Charge*, and hopes it is all a Mistake and Misinformation. But Records and publick Facts are not to be thus discredited. It appears by the *Manual*, according to the Use of *Sarum*, That Godfathers and Godmothers of Children, were to learn, or see them be learned, the *Paternoster*, *Ave* and *Credo*, after the lawe of all

Eccles.
History,
 Vol. II.

This seems occasion'd by Dr. *John Wicliffe's* Translation of the Bible into *English*: by which Means (*Kingdome* said) the Gospel was made vulgar, and troden under foot of Swine. See *Wicliffe's* Life.

holy

The Letter of William Caxton

11

holy church; which was, that they should be learned in *Latin*. Dr. *John White*, who lived at *Eccles in Lancashire*, has given us a Copy of the Creed, as it used to be repeated by the common People there in *Latin*: *Credo in unum patrum onitensem*, &c. And for this Reason it is, that in the Office of publick Baptism of Infants in our Liturgy, *Godfathers*, &c. are required to provide that the Child may learn the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments in the *Vulgar Tongue*. According to the Principles of some of the modern Catholics, it is much better for the People not to understand the common Service of the Church than to understand it; or that it should be in *Latin*, and not in *English*.

Bishop
Christo-
ferfon's
Exhorta-
tion, &c.

In the Translation of the Creed, which we have in this Sermon, the fourth Article is thus expressed: *I beleve, that he suffered payne under Ponce Pilate, &c.* The Translator understanding *Pontius* to be the name of some Place where *Pilate* was either born, or lived or governed. Accordingly in this Book is this silly Tale told. 'Themperoure, by counseyll of the Romainys, 'sente *Pylate* into a contree that was called 'Pounce where the People of that contree were 'so cursed that they slewe ony that come to be 'their Mayster over them. Soo when this *Pylate* come thyder he applied him to her ma- 'ners; soo what with wyles and soryling he 'overcame hem, and had the maystrye, and 'gate his name, and was called *Pylate* of 'Pounce, and had grete domynacion and power. According to this manner of writing, excepting somerimes *Ponce* for *Pounce*, was this Article of the Creed expressed in *English*, from the four-
teenth

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seventh Century down to A. D. 1532; when, in the Primer of Salisbury Use, it was altered to *Pontius Pilate*, which was followed by Archbishop *Granmer* in his Notes on the King's Book, 1538.

The ninth Article is thus render'd: *I believe in holy Church, &c.* This seems to have been first introduced to support the new Doctrine of the Infallibility of the Church or Clergy, and to be made a Test of Orthodoxy. On a Tombstone in the high Chancel of the Church of *Pauresham* in *Kent*, is the following Inscription, in a semicirclet of Brass, over the Head of the Effigies of *William Thornbury*, a Vicar of this Church, who died A. D. 1408. *Credo in Sanctam Ecclesiam Catholicam, Sanctorum Communionem.* In 1457, Dr. *Reginald Pecock*, Bishop of *Chichester*, was accused to the Archbishop of *Canterbury* holding, among other Things, that it is not necessary to Salvation to believe in the Holy Catholick Church, and forced to abjure, and deprived of his Bishopric. And yet St. *Austin*, as he is quoted by Bishop *Bonner*, in his profitable and necessary Doctrine, &c. A. D. 1555, observed, *Quid Ecclesiam credere, non tamen in Ecclesia credere debemus, quia Ecclesia non Deus, sed Vanius Dei est.* *Erasmus* said, That he dreaded to say, *I believe in the holy Church*; because St. *Cyprian* had taught him, that we ought to believe in God only, in whom we absolutely place all our Confidence. But as to the CHURCH, properly so called, although it consists of the Faithful only, yet they are men who, of good Men, may become evil ones, who may be deceived themselves and deceive others. Nay in this very Book it is so served,

The Lyra of William Caxton

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' served, that to believe in God is one thing,
' and to believe in God is another; and that to
' believe in God is to cleave to God by love, ful-
' filling his Will. But it had been the Obser-
vation of the noble Lord Cobham, who suffered
as an Heretic, A. D. 1417, That ' in all our
' Crede is IN but thrice mentioned concerning
' belief, in God the Father, in God the Son, and
' in God the Holy Ghost. — That the Church be
' — bath not any other in. Whereas in the
English Translation of the Creed, printed in the
Salisbury Primer 1532, the last Articles of it
are thus rendered: I believe in the holy Church
Catholike — in the remission of sinnes — in the
resurrection of the body — in everlasting
life.

In the second of these four Sermons is, 1. An
Explanation of the seven Sacraments of the
Romish Church. 2. Of the seven deedes of
Mercy bodily, the which every Man is bound
by the bidding of God to fulfil and do to his
Power; that is to saye, feed the hungry; give
drink to the thirsty; clothe the naked; han-
derow the houseless; visit the Sick; deliver
prisoners and bury the poor when they are
dead. 3. Of seven other ghostly deedes of Mer-
cy. 4. Of the seven principal Vertues that
every man and woman should use. 5. Of the
seven deadly sins. 6. The nine paynes.

In the other two Sermons are declared the
three Parts of Penance, viz. Contrition, Confes-
sion and Satisfaction.

Then follows, 1. The General Sentence, which
begins thus: ' Good men and wyomen I do you
' to understonde, that we that have cure of
' your sowles be commaunded of our ordynarye
' and

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and by the constitucyons and the lawe of holy Chirche, to shewe to yowe *four* tymes by the yere in eche a quarter of the yere onys, when the people is most plenary in holy chirche, the articles of the sentence of cursynge, so that nought for our defaulte no man nor woman falle therin.

Next is, ¶ *Modus fulminandi sententiam.* Prelatus alba indutus cum ceteris sacerdotibus in ecclesia existentibus cruce erecta, candelis accensis stans in pulpito, pronuncient verba que sequuntur: Ex autoritate Dei Patris omnipotentis et beate Marie Virginis, et omnium sanctorum excommunicamus et diabolo commendamus omnes supradictos malefactores.

¶ *Finita sententia extinguat lumen ad terrorem pulsatis campanis.*

¶ The bedes on the Sondag.

Ye shal knele down on your knees and lyft up your hertes. —

Enprynted by wylliam Caxton at westmestre.

The Leaves are not number'd, and only the Signatures used.

To observe that by the Way, this *General Sentence* or *Excommunication*, as it is called, was first ordered by *Stephen Langton*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *A. D.* 1222, who decreed it should be published by every Parish Priest in his holy Vestments, with Bells tolling, and Candles lighted, before the whole Congregation in the Mother-tongue, four Times a Year, viz. on *Christmas-day*, *Easter Sunday*, *Whit-sunday*, and *Alballow's Day*. In a Volume of Tracts in Manuscript, said to be written by Dr. *John Wicliff*, about an hundred and fifty Years after;

is one entitled, *The great sentence of Curse expounded.* But the Form of the General Sentence in this *Exposition*, somewhat differs from that in the Constitution. The *Exposition* informs us, That *'First*, all Heretics agenst the
'faith of Holy Writt ben cursed solemnly
'four times in the Year, and also meyn-
'nors and consenters to Heresie and Heretics
'in their errour.' The *second* Article is the
first in the Constitution, and in the General
Sentence in *English*, in the following Words;
'All those ben cursed solemnly that spoilen or
'taken any right of Holy Church, or defrauden
'holy Church of any due.' But in the *Eng-
lish* Form of the General Sentence is this Arti-
cle thus expressed; 'I denounce and shew for
'acursyd alle tho that fraunchyse of holy chyrch
'breke or destrouble, or are ageyn the pees or
'the state of holy chirche, or there to assente
'wyth dede or counceyl. And also alle tho that
'pryve holy chirche of ony right or make of ho-
'ly chirche ony lay fee that is halowyd or sancti-
'fyed; And alle tho that wythholde the rightes
'of holy chirche, that is for to say offrynges,
'tythes, rentys, or fredom of holy chirche let-
'ten, or destrouble, or breke, that is to say, yf
'ony man flec to chirche or chirche yerde who
'so hym out drawyth, and al tho that therto
'procure or assent: And alle tho that purchase
'letters of ony lordes courte wherfore lettynge
'is made in cristen courte that processe of
'right may not be determynyd nor endyd.' On
this the Expounder observes, That 'Christen
'men, taught in God's Law, clepen Holy
'Church the Congregation of just men, for
'whom *Jesu Christ* shedd his blood, not for
G stones

‘stones and timber and earthly muck that Antichrist’s Clerks magnifyen more than God’s righteousness and Christen Souls, and, that then those Prelates and Curates that withdrawn the rightful Preaching of *Christ’s* Gospel fro Christen men that ben Holy Church ben open accursed of God and all His Saints.’ He further observes, That ‘when the King and secular Lords perceiven well, that Clerks wasten their ancetres alms in pomp and pride glotony and other Vanities, and they wolden take agen the superfluity of temporal goods and help the lond and themselves and their tenents, these worldly Clerks crien fastly, that they ben cursed for entermitting of Holy Church goods, as if secular Lords and the Commons were no part of Holy Church, but only proud Priests full of covetisse, Symony, and Extortion, &c.’

A. D.
1382.

If seems to be after the writing and publishing of this Tract, that Archbishop *Courtney* appointed a Court of certain select Bishops, &c. to be held in the Monastery of the Preaching Friars in *London*, to condemn some Conclusions said to be maintained by *Dr. Wiclif* and his Followers. Among these were the following ones:

1. That the Substance of material Bread and Wine remains after Consecration in the Sacrament of the Altar.
2. That the Accidents do not remain without a Subject after Consecration in the same Sacrament.
3. That Christ is not in the Sacrament of the Altar identically, verily and really in his proper corporal Presence.

To

To make therefore the stronger Impression on the Minds of the People, and raise in them a greater Abhorrence of these Conclusions, the following Article was added in this *General Sentence* which was read to the People in their Mother-tongue every Quarter, viz. denouncing and shewing for accursed — al heretikes that * leve not in the Sacrament of the aulter,* believe that is goddes oune body in fleshe and bloude in forme of brede.

In the forme of bidding the bedes on the Son-day, or as it was sometimes called, *The Dominical Prayer in the Pulpit*, is the following Clause: 'Also ye shal praye for al trewe pyl-
' gryms and palmers that have taken theyr waye
' to Rome, to Jerusalem, to saynt Katheryne's
' or to saynt James, or to ony other holy place,
' that god of his grace yeve them tyme and
' space wel for to goo and to come to the prouf-
' fyt of theyr lyves and sowles.' By this it ap-
pears, That at the Time of composing this
Form, these were the fashionable Pilgrimages.
In a more ancient Form, no particular Places or
Saints are mentioned, but this Clause is expres-
sed as follows: 'Ye shulle bydde for' hem
' that in ' gwood wayes.' beest ywent other
' wendyt, other ' thenkit to wen the heer sennys
' to bote, that our Lord *Jhesu Crist* warde and
' shild hem from all misaventryes, and gront
' hem so goon and comen, that it be hym to
' ' worship, and hem in remission of here
' synnys, for hem and for oos, and alle Christine
' folk.' This seems to intimate as if, at the

^p them. ^q good. ^r been gon or going. ^s think to
go their sin to make satisfaction for. ^t honour.

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Time when this ancients Form was drawn the Saints *Katherine* and *James of Compostella*, were not in so great Request, or had in so much Veneration as they were afterwards.

About 709, an odd and surprising Opinion of the Merit and Holiness of Pilgrimages to *Rome*, wonderfully prevailed among the *English*, inso-much that all Ranks and Degrees of every Sex and Age of the People of this Nation travelled to *Rome*, and placed a mighty Confidence in visiting the Tombs of the Apostles *St. Peter* and *St. Paul*, and of such other holy Men, &c. as had there suffered for the Sake of Christ. The Consequence of this was, That about the middle of this Century, this Humour so far increased, that the *English* Nuns ran to *Rome*; and there were so many lewd Women of the *English* Nation abroad in *Lombardy*, *France*, &c. that *Boniface* Archbishop of *Mentz*, complained of them to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and recommended to him the Suppression of this Practice of Pilgrimage as of very bad and scandalous Consequence. The Practice of going in Pilgrimage to *Jerusalem*, or the *Holy Land*, was new in the *fourth* Century, when, about the latter End of it, *Gregory Nyssen* wrote a learned Letter to dissuade Christians from going thither on that Errand; and was at last here in *England*, treated with Contempt and Ridicule, as only a Pretence for " Sloth and Laziness.

" The *English* Word *saunter*, to live an idle, lazy Life, comes from the *French*, *Sanctē Terre*, Holy Land, as much as to say, He is a *Saunterer* or a Pilgrim to the Holy Land.

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The Saint * *Katherine* here mentioned is, I suppose, the Saint of that Name, of *Sene* in *Italy*, who was born there, *A. D.* 1347, and canonized by Pope *Pius II.* *A. D.* 1461.

St. *James* I take to be ^v St. *James* of *Compostella*, in *Spain*: Hither, it was said, the Bones or Reliques of *James*, the Brother of *John*, who was killed by *Herod*, were translated. But it does not appear, that much Notice was taken of them till *Calistus* or *Calixtus II's* Time, who was chosen Pope of *Rome*, *A. D.* 1119. He not only wrote a Tract of the Miracles of this Saint done at *Compostella*, but advised the *English* Pilgrims, in particular, rather to go in Pilgrimage to this Saint, than to *Rome*; and promised them, on account of the Length of the Journey, that if they went twice to *Compostella*, they should have refunded to them the same advantageous Benediction which they had who went once to *Rome*.

3. *The Fables of Æsop*, *Auian*, *Alphonfus* and *Poggius*; translated out of *Frenshe* into *English*, at *Westmestre*. The Leaves of this Book are number'd thus; I^o, II^o, III^o. and it has the Signatures, but not the Direction or catch Word, nor any Date.

4. *Confessio Amantis*, the Confession of the Lover. This Book was made, by *John Gower*,

* Mr. *Caxton* printed her Life.

^v We were wont to say, Let us go in Pilgrimage to Sainct *Peter* at *Rome*, and Sainct *James* in *Compostella*; the application and appointing of the oblation and sacrificing of Christ by the Priest alone to suche persones as the Priest would sing or say Masse for — to halowe and preserve them that went to *Jerusalem*, to *Rome*, to St. *James* in *Compostella*, and to other Places in Pilgrimage. *Archbishop Cranmer's Defence of the true and Catholick Doctrine of the Sacrament*, &c.

in *English Verse*, and *enprynted* by Mr. Caxton, at *Westminster*, and *fynysshed* the 2d Day of *September*, the first yere of *Kynge Rychard* the third^s. At the End of it is this Colophon :

- * Golver. *Orate pro anima* Joannis * Gower, *Quicun-*
 * Golver. *que enim pro anima ipsius* Johannis * Gower, *oraverit,* ¹¹⁸ *tociens quociens mill. quingentos dies indulgentie ab ecclesia rite concessos misericorditer in domino possidebit.* Our learned Antiquarian

DeScripto. Leland tells us, That 'this^a John Gower was
Britan. ' of the Knightly Order, and born in *Yorkshire* :
 ' that he was a Lawyer by Profession, and la-
 ' boured much in Poetry, and was the first Po-
 ' lisher of his own countrey language, which
 ' before his time lay uncultivated, and almost
 ' quite rude: that he wrote many things in eng-
 ' lish, not only in verse, but also in prose,
 ' which were read with pleasure by the learned
 ' even in *his* time, the reign of K. Henry VIII.
 ' that among his greater works are these three,
 ' *Speculum Meditantis, Vox Clamantis,* and
 ' *Confessio Amantis.*' He flourished in King
Richard II's Reign, to whom he dedicated his
 Works ; and, when he was blind, presented to
 him his Song in praise of Peace. He was an
 intimate Friend and Acquaintance of that

* The yere of our lord a thousand cccclxxxiii, i. e. cccclxxxiii.

* Not long after the xv day of *October* 1400, deceased the Poet
 * It was John Gower who lieth buried in * *St. Mary Overies* Church or *St.*
originally Mary's on the bank in *Southwarke*. He new builded a great parte
 named *St.* of that Church, and compiled three famous books. The first
 Mary in Latine *Vox clamantis*; the seconde in frenche, *Speculum Meditan-*
 Magda- tis: the thirde in english, *Confessio amantis* which is in prynte.
 len, but *Summarie of English Chronicles*, p. 330.

32 Hen.

VIII. it was, by *Act of Parliament*, united to *St. Margaret's* in *Southwarke*,
 and named *St. Savicour*.

eminent Poet *Geoffery Chaucer*, as he shews in this Book, and used to submit his *Lucubrations* to *his* Judgment, as *Chaucer* did his *Loves of Troilus*, to the Censure and Correction of *Gower* and *Strode*.

5. ^b *The boke of thordre of chyvalrye or knyght-hode*. This, Mr. Caxton tells us, he translated J. Ames. out of Frenshe into Englyshe at a request of a gentyl and noble esquier and presented it to K. Rychard III. 1483, to thende, that he commaunde this booke to be had and redde unto other yong lordes, knyghtes, and gentylmen within this royaume, that the noble ordre of chyvalrye be bereafter better used and bonoured than hit hath ben in late days passed. It is a thin Quarto, and contains eight Chapters; The first of these saith, 'how a knyght beyn an Heremyte devised to the squyer the rule and order of chyvalrye. The 2^d the begynnyng of chyvalrye: The 3^d thof- fyce of chyvalrye: The 4th the examinacion that ought to be made to the squyer when he wylle enter into thordre of chyvalrye: The 5th in what maner the squyer ought to receyve chyvalrye: The 6th the signifaunce of tharmes longynge to a knyght al by ordre: The 7th the custommes that apertheyne to a knyght: The 8th of the honoure that oughte to be done to a knyght. At the End of this Book is an *Epilogue* of Mr. Caxton's own writing, which, for the Rarity and Curiosity of it, I have here transcribed and added.

^b In a catalogue of Books for sale there is a book called, *The Harber of Battails of the Faits of Armes and Chivalry*. Fol. by W^m Caxton 1490. Bently and Walford's Catal. 1637.

¶ Here endeth the book of *thordre of chyualry*, whiche booke is translated oute of *Frenshe* into *Englyshe* at a requeste of a gentyl and noble esquier by me *William Caxton* dwellynge in *Westminstre* besyde *London* in the most best wyse that god hath suffer'd me, and accordyng to the copye that the sayde squyer deliuered to me. whiche booke is not requysyte to every comyn man to have, but to noble gentylmen that by their vertu entende to come and entre into the noble ordre of chyualrye, the whiche in these late dayes hath ben used accordyng to this booke here to fore wretton, but forgotten, and by thexersyces of chyvalry not used, honoured, ne exercysed as hit hath ben in auntyent tyme, at whiche tyme the noble actes of the knyghtes of *Englonde* that used chyualrye were renomed thurgh the universal world.

As for to speke to fore thyncarnacyon of *Jhesu Cryste*, where were there ever ony lyke to *brenius* and *belinus* that from the grete *Brytayne*, now called *Englonde*, unto *Rome* and ferre beyonde, conquered many royammes and londes, whos noble actes remayne in tholde hystories of the *Romaynes*. And syth thyncarnacyon of oure lorde, byhold that noble kyng of *Brytayne*, kynge *Arthur*, with all the noble knyghtes of the round table, whoos noble actes and noble chyualrye of his knyghtes occupye soo many large volumes that is a worlde, or as thyng incredible to byleve. O ye knyghtes of *Englonde*, where is the custome and usage of noble chyvalry that was used in tho dayes? what do ye now but go to the * baynes and playe at dyse? And some not wel advysed use not honest and good

Geoffrey
of Mon-
mouth
Brit. Hist.

* bath.

good rule ageyn alle ordre of knyghthode, leve this, leve it, and rede the noble volumes of saynt *graal*, of *lancelot*, of *galaad*, of *trystram*, of *perse forest*, of *percyual*, of *gawayn*, and many mo. Ther shalle ye see manhode, curtesye and gentylnesse. And loke in latter dayes of the noble actes syth the conqueste; as in Kyng *Rychard's* days * *cure du lyon*, *Edward* the fyrste * *heart of* and the thyrde, and his noble sones; Syre *Robert* *Knolles*, Syre *Johan Hawkwode*, Syre *Johan Cbaundos*, and Syre *gaultier Manuyrede Froisfart*. And also behold that vycctorious and noble kynge *barry* the *fyste* and the capytayns under him, his noble brethren, therle of *Salisbury*, *Montagu*, and many other whose names shyne gloryously by their vertuous * *noblesse* * *nobility* and actes that they did in thonour of thordre of chyualrye. Alas! what do ye, but slepe and take ease and at al disordred fro chivalry? I wold demaunde a question yf I shold not displease. howmany knyghtes ben ther now in *England* that have thuse and exercyse of a knyghte? that is to wete, that he knoweth his hors, and his hors him, that is to saye, he beyng redy at a poynt to have al thyng that longeth to a knyght, an hors that is accordyng and broken aftir his hand, his armures and * *harnoys* mete and fitting and * *harnesse*. so forth. I suppose * and a due serche shold * *if*. be made, ther shoulde be many founden that lacke, the more pite is: and wolde it pleasyd our souerayne lord, that twyes or thryes in a yere, or, at the lest, ones he wold do crye *Iustices of Pees*, to thende, that every knight shoulde have hors and harneys, and also the use and craste of a knight, and also to *tornoye* one ageynst one, or two ageynst two, and the best to have

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a 'Prys, a diamond or jewell, such as shold please the Prynce. This shold cause gentylmen to resort to thauncient custommes of chyualrye to great fame and * *renommee*; And also to be alwey redy to serve theyr prynce, whan he shalle calle them or have nede. Thenne late every man that is come of noble blood and entendeth to come to the noble ordre of chyualrie, rede thys lytyle boke, and doo therafter in kepyng the * *lore* and commaundementes therin comprysed. And thenne I doubte not he shall atteyne to thorder of chyualrye *et cetera*.

*Dict. de
langue
Franc.
Tom. II.*

In this *Epilogue* we may observe with what Earnestness Mr. *Caxton* recommends to the *English* Nobility and Gentry, the reading the Histories of King *Arthur*, and the noble Knights of the round Table, one of which he afterwards printed, and of *Belinus* and *Brennius*, who, *Geoffry* of *Monmouth* tells us, besieged and took *Rome*; and several foreign Romances, of which I am not in Circumstances to give any satisfactory Account. I only therefore observe, that this way of writing is intimated by *Richelet*, to be of *Spanish* Extraction, and commonly in Verse. Thus he describes a Romance; *Terme de Poesie Espagnol*. A Sort of *Poeme* where one meets with some sad Adventure, some Event that is rare and particular, or some glorious and heroic Action, Its on Account of this last that Mr. *Caxton* recommends the Perusal of *Lancilot*, or Sir *Lancilot du lac*

' The prize, reward, or honour got by, kept for, or due unto the best deserver in a Jufts, &c. *Cetgrave's Fr. Dict.*

History

History of King *Arthur* and the Knights of the round Table, &c. on which a learned *Spaniard* has pass'd the following Censure: That they were invented by idle Men, and full of that Sort of Lies which neither contribute any Thing to the Increase of Knowledge, or to thinking and living well, but only serve or gratify a certain vain, and present itch or tickling Pleasure.

He next recommends the glorious and illustrious Examples of the following *English* Generals and Commanders who lived not long before his Time. Of these the first mentioned is the great Sir *Robert Knolles*. This Knight is commonly represented as of mean Birth and Parentage, somewhere in *Cheshire*, but, raised by his own Merit, which gained him a Reputation equal to that of the most famed and renowned Warriors. He had signalized himself in a very extraordinary Manner in the Wars with *France*, in the Reign of King *Edward III.* and particularly in the Battle of *Poitiers*: On which Occasion his Bravery is thus extolled in the Register

^d ——— *Ut Lancilatum et mensam rotundam Gallicam* ———
qui libri ab hominibus sunt otiosis conficti, pleni eo mendaciorum genere quod nec ad sciendum quicquam conferat, nec ad bene vel leniendum de rebus vel vivendum, tantum ad inanem quandam et præsentem titillationem. *Lud. Vivis de disciplina Lib. II.*

* Postea vero, circa Festum Nativitatis S. *Johannis Baptiste* 1370, rex *Edwardus* magnum exercitum de valentioribus viris et magis expertis in bello fecit sollicite congregari: inter quos erant aliqui domini, id est, dominus *Grantsone*, et dominus *le Fitz Water*, et alii Nobiles milites valentes, quibus præfecit in eorum ducem, dominum *Robertum de Knolles*, volens, ut ejus discretionem et industria, et non aliter, universi dicti exercitus uterentur, et ejus imperio in omnibus obedirent: quia in bellicis congressibus, et in exercitus regimine fuerat satis instructus. *Ad. Murimuth continu. Treveti. p. 124.*

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of Bermondsea. In isto bello de Roberto Knollis
milite Cestrie sic canebatur metricè.*

*O Roberte Knollis per te fit Francia mollis,
Ense tuo tollis predas, dans vulnera collis.*

Which has been thus *English'd*:

*O Robert Knowles, most worthy of fame,
By thy Prowesse France was made tame,
Thy manhode made the French to yield
By dint of sworde in towne and field.*

*Reg. of
Order of
the Gar-
ter. Vol.
II.*

By the *French* he was called, *Le veritable demon de la guerre*, The true Demon or Thunder-bolt of War. Since his Military Exploits were, beyond Imagination, illustrious; and his Enterprizes in warlike Actions of the greatest Hazards and Difficulties surprizingly successful. By these Means, it's said, he became immensely rich, and got an Estate fit for a King. In the Beginning of the Reign of King *Henry IV.* he was Seneschal of *Guienne* in *France*; but being now pretty well advanced in Years, and grown weary of a Life of so much Hurry and Action, he retired to a Seat of his in *Norfolk*, called *Scene*, or *Scone-Thorp*, where he^f died about the middle

^f The same yere, 7 *Hen. IV.* Anno 1406, Syr Robert Knolles knyght a worthy warrier deyed at his maner in *Northfolk* and from thens was brought to *London* on a hors bere wyth moche torche lyght, and so he was brought unto the white freres in *Fleetstrete*, and ther was do and made for him a solempne feest and ryal enterement for tho that thyder wolde come, both ryche and poore, and there lyeth buried by dame *Constance* his wyfe in the mydde of the body of the Church: on whoos soule god have mercy. Amen. *Caxton's Chronicle of England*, printed by Julyan Nqtary 1515. Fol. cxii. b.

of this Reign, *A. D.* 1406. and was buried with great funeral Pomp in the Church of the *White-fryers*, in *Fleet-street*, *London*, which he had built. Of the several Acts of Piety, Charity, and Munificence which he did in his Life-time; one was, his building with Stone, the Bridge over the River *Medway*, at *Rochester* in *Kent*. Lambert's Peramb. of Kent, p. 382. Ed. 1596. This was before made of Timber, and on that Account had been subject to several Accidents. Thus *Anno* 1264, it was set on Fire and burnt, by *Simon Mountfort* the Earl of *Leicester*: and not full twenty Years after, *Anno* 1282, it was 'all borne downe away by the Ice, there having
' been such a greate Froste and Snowe from
' *Christmas* till the *Purification* of our Lady as Summary of English Chron. 10 Edw. I.
' the olde men could not remember the like.' Sir *Robert* therefore built it with Stone, somewhat nearer to the Castle Wall than the Wooden Bridge stood, as to a Place more fit, both for the Fastness of the Soil, and the breaking of the Swiftness of the Stream, to build a Bridge upon; and, at the East End, built a Chapel for a Chauntrie adjoining to his dwelling House. To observe that by the way, either the Damage above-mentioned done to this Bridge by the Ice, was not repaired above an hundred Years after, or it was then a second Time demolished by the same Means: Since, in 1383, Archbishop *Courtney* granted Letters of Collection, dated from Litere questus, MS. his Manor of *Otteford*, the 23d Day of *May*, to one *John Brugge*, wherein he recited, That the Bridge was so broken, *per nimiam inundationem aquarum, ac turbidos incurfus glaciei et gelu byemalis*, by an excessive Inundation of

* Now the *Crown Inn* in *Rochester*.

Waters, and terrible Attack or Shocks of Ice and Winter Frosts; that the^h Estates of the Inhabitants, and those of the County, who were obliged to maintain and repair the said Bridge, were not sufficient: And to encourage them to contribute liberally to this Work, he mercifully released to them forty Days of the Penances that had been enjoined to them. Whether these Letters put Sir *Robert* on rebuilding it, is more than we now know; but, it's certain, his doing it could not be long after them; since, as we have seen, he lived but three and twenty Years after the Date of them.

*Weever's
Funeral
Monum.
p. 623.*

*Muri-
muth, &c.
p. 147.*

Syre *Johan hawkwode* was borne at *Sibil Heueningham* or *Heningham* in *Essex*, and the son of *Gilbert Hawkwode* a tanner of that place. He was bound an apprentice to a Tailor in the City of *London*, from whence he was pressed into the Service of King *Edward III.* in the Wars with *France*. For his admired Valour he was honoured by that Prince with the Order of Knighthode. In the like Regard to his warlike Merits, *Barnabie*, the valiant Brother of *Galeasius*, Lord of *Millaine*, Father to *John*, the first Duke of it, gave him his Daughter *Domnia* in marriage, with a Fortune of ten thousand Florins of yearly Rent. Here he did many extraordinary Exploits with the Forces which he commanded, even wonderful Things, unheard of before. The *Florentines* therefore, in Gratitude to his Memory, and for a Testimony of his surpassing Valour and singu-

*printed
1733.*

^h The Petition to the King in Parliament for ascertaining the Portions and Repairs of the New Bridge of *Rocheſter*, is in the Names of *Robert de Knolles* and *John de Cobeham*.

lar faithful Service to their State, adorned him with a Statue of a Man of Arms, and a sumptuous Monument in their Cathedral. On this Account *Julius Feroldus* made the following Verses in his Praise :

Hawkwood Anglorum decus, et decus addite genti
Italice, *Italico* presidiumque solo.
 Ut tumuli quondam *Florentia*, sic simulacri
 Virtutem *Jovius* donat honore tuam.

In *English* thus ;

O Hawkwood, England's Glory, sent to be
 The Bulwark and the Pride of Italy.
 A Tomb just Florence to thy Worth doth raise,
 And Jovius rears a Statue to thy Praise.

He died an aged Man in the Year 1394, the 18 *Richard II.* His Friends here in *England*, set up for him a Monument in the Parish Church where he was born, viz. a Tomb arched over, and in Imitation of that at *Florence*, engraven with the Likeness of Hawks flying in or through a Wood ; that being the Rebus of his Name, *Hawk-wood*.

Syre *Johan chaundos*, distinguished himself in a very singular Manner in all the Wars which King *Edward III.* waged in *France*. At the Battle of *Aulroy* in *Britain*, he was named Sovereign Captain. In 1361, he was sent by the King into *France*, with the Title and Commission of Lieutenant General, with a considerable Force and full Power to pardon all Sorts of Crimes. But in the 44th Year of this King's
A. Muri-
 muth, &c.
 Reign, p. 124.

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Reign, Anno 1370, was this¹ renowned Hero slain, by the Enemy in *Gascony*. Sir *John Froissard* says of him, that he was a good Knight, courteous and benign, well shaped, liberal, heroic, wise and faithful in all Matters; and one who had worthily behaved himself among all Lords, Knights, Ladies and Damsels; so that there was no Knight in his Days more generally beloved and praised of all People.

Syre *Gaultier* manyred froissart, is another of those Knights which are here mentioned and recommended by Mr. *Caxton*: But I do not find any Notice taken of him in those *English* Chronicles which I have seen. The Name is plainly *French*, and perhaps he was one of that Nation who was an Officer or Commander in King *Edward's* or King *Henry's* Armies in their Wars with *France*, where he signalized himself as the other Knights did whom he here names.

He next names therle of *Salisbury Montagu*; that is, I suppose, *William Montague*, or *Montacute*, Earl of *Salisbury*, King of the Isle of *Man*, and Marshal of *England*. To the first of these Dignities he was advanced by King *Edward III*, in the Year² 1330. In 1342, he conquered the Isle of *Man*; and, in Consideration of this Conquest, and because his Father

¹ Strenuus et sapiens miles. *Murimuth*, &c.

² In the Yere of our lorde a Mccccxxx—Kynge *Edward* made sixe erles; that is for to saye, Syr *Henry* therle of *Lancastres*; sone erle of *Leycestre*; *Wyllyam* of *Bugham* erle of *Northampton*; *Wyllyam* of *Mountagu* erle of *Salisbury*; *Hughe* of *Audwell* erle of *Gloucestre*; *Robert* of *Ufforde* erle of *Southfolke*; and *Wyllyam* of *Clynton* erle of *Huntyngton*. *Caxton's Chronicles*, &c. printed by Notary, 1515. Fol. lxxxv.

was married to one of the Sisters of Orroy, King of *Man*, was crowned by King *Edward*, King of the said Island. But two Years after, when the King appointed solemn Jufts and Tournaments to be held at *Windfor*, this noble Lord, through his immoderate Courage and Labour, for three or four Days together, was so bruised and fatigued with those boisterous Encounters, that falling into a *Feavour*, he died within eight Days after, in the 43d Year of his Age, to the infinite regret of the King and all his Court, as well Strangers as *Engliffi*. *Walsingham* observed, That it would be a Work of great Commendation to write worthily of his illustrious and valorous Acts. A. D. 1344.

Such were the virtuous and commendable Examples which Mr. *Caxton* recommended to the following and Imitation of the *Engliffi* Nobility and Gentry of his Time: Men not only famous for their personal Courage and War-like Conduct, but of eminent Piety, Vertue and Goodness.

Lastly, Mr. *Caxton* here proposed the revival of the ancient Exercifes and Diversions of *Jufts* and *Turnaments*, which, it seems, were now growing into difufe. *Jufts* were fingle Combats of two Knights on Horfeback, who tilted at, or ran one againft the other, with their Spears or Lances, within the Lifts or Bounds which were appointed to them. *Turnaments* were Exercifes of Arms, in which feveral fought or tilted together in the way of Diversion. *Ri- Diſion.*
chelet thus describes them: 'A Combat betwixt *Fran.*
'two Parties of Horfemen well mounted, rich-

¹ See *Gul. Neubrig. Hifto.* p. 501, 502. Ed. *Oxon.* 1719.

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‘ly dressed or adorned, and armed, made for
 ‘Pleasure, and in the Presence of the Ladies for
 ‘some publick Rejoicing, or to make themselves
 ‘fit for the Exercise of War, and that within
 ‘a Barriere, or Place enclosed with Rails, ap-
 ‘pointed for these Sorts of famous Games or
 ‘Tiltings.’ These Barrieres were boarded,
 from whence the *French* stiled the making *Justs*
 and *Tournaments*, *bebourde*, or boarding. Our
 Poet *Chaucer* therefore describes his Knight
 thus:

Full oft timis he bad the bord begon.

Or, was the first at the *bebourd*, or the “board
bariere, where the *Justs* and *Tournaments* were
 held. The same Poet represents these manly
 Games as Circumstances of Love.

*Justis, array, and all the circumstauncis
 Of Love ———*

The Design of these Diversions being, as has
 been intimated, in part to please the Ladies,
 and recommend to their Favour the Comba-
 tants, for their Dress and Manhood. But Mr.
Caxton seemed to have another View in advi-
 sing their Encouragement, namely, the em-
 ploying the Nobility and Gentry, that they
 might not spend their Time worse, in Ga-
 ming and Debauchery, and preserving their
 ancient Courage and Valour, that the Honour
 and Security of the *English* Nation might not
 suffer through, *their* sinking and degenerating
 into Delicacy and Effeminacy.

^m *Borde*, a little House of Wood or Timber.

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A. D.
1483.

6. *The legende of sayntes*, called, *Theⁿ golden legend*. This he fynished the 20 day of November this Yeaere. It was entituled, in Frenshe, out of which he translated it, *La Legend D'oree*; and is a thick Folio, printed in double Columns. Mr. Caxton tells us, That 'this Book Wylliam Erle of Arundel desyred him to continue and accomplish, and promised him to take a resonable quantite of them, and sent to him a worshipful gentilman, a servaunt of his named *John Stancy*, promysing, that the sayd lorde should, during Caxton's life, geve and graunt to him a yerely fee, that is to note, a buck in summer, and a doo in winter.' The learned Writer of *The English Historical Library* tells us, 'That Mr. Caxton translated *John Capgrave's Legenda Sanctorum Angliæ*, and added to the fabulous Stories collected in this Book, that of 15,000 Men suffering with the 11000 Virgins, who are remembred in the Calendar *October 21*, on the Testimony of the Men of *Cologne*, where he lived sometime.' However this be, we are informed by a Note written on a spare Leaf at the End of a Copy of this Book, printed by *de Worde*, That 'Caxton's Edition had the noble Hystorye of the Exposycyon of the Masse dyvyded into iiii parts, and the XII articles of our fayth.'

7. Mr. Caxton tells us, That he added to this boke that which is said or callid Cathon translated likewise out of Frenshe into Englishe in

ⁿ Quam indigna est divis et hominibus christianis illa Sanctorum historia quæ LEGENDA AUREA nominatur, quam nescio cur AUREAM appellant, quum scripta sit ab homine ferrei oris, plumbei cordis? Quid fædus dici potest illo libro. Ludov. Vivis *de disciplinis*, Lib. II. p. 91.

thabbaye of Westmestre 23 of Decembre 1483. It contains *Cato's* Distichs or Precepts, in *Latin*, with a Version and Comment in *Englisch*. This Book, Mr. *Caxton* tells us, 'had been translated out of Latin into English by Master *Benet Burgh* late Archdeken of *Colcestre*, and hye Canon of *St. Stephen's* at *Westmestre*; but because of late came to his hands this boke in *Frenshe*, which rehersed many a faire learninge and notable ensamples, he had translated that into english, and presented it unto the City of *London* of which he was a Citizeyn and Conjurys.' This *Benedict*, or *Bennet* of *Burgh*, was successively Rector of *Sandon* and *Kedington*, in *Essex*, 1440 and 1450, Archdeacon of *Colcestre* 1465, Prebendary of *Ealdland* and *Hedington*, in the Church of *St. Paul's*, 1472 and 1476. When he was made Canon of the Collegiate Chapel of *St. Stephen's* does not appear, but, very probably, he had this Dignity in 1476, when he resigned his Prebend of *Hedingham*. However this be, he died some time this very Year 1483.

Newcourt
Reperto.
Vol. II.

* instru-
ctions.

8. The booke of * thenseignementes and techinge, that the knyght of the *Toure* made to his daughters and speketh of many fayre ensamples. Fol. This, Mr. *Caxton* tells us, was translated by him, 'out of *Frenshe* into our mater-nall englyshe tongue by the requeste and desire of a noble Lady whiche had brought forth many noble and fayre daughters, and, for the zeal and love that she has always had to her fayre children, and yet hath for to have more knowleche in vertue had desired him to translate it into our vulgar englyshe.' But he modestly desired, 'all them that

‘ that should lerne or see any thyng in this
 ‘ sayd book, by whiche they should ben wyser
 ‘ and better, that they should gyue laud and
 ‘ thankynge to the sayd Ladyes good grace.—
 ‘ And wheras any defaulte should be founde in
 ‘ the reducyng and translatyng into our en-
 ‘ glyshe tongue, that it be arretid to him
 ‘ whiche, he sayd, was ignoraunt and not ex-
 ‘ pert in the werke, though so be that he had
 ‘ empyrised heretofore to smatre him in suche
 ‘ transacions whiche he confessed and know-
 ‘ ledged him ignoraunt and therein to be im-
 ‘ perfect. This booke was enprynted at *West-*
 ‘ *minstre* the last day of *Janyver* 1 *Richard III.*
 Fol.

The next Year 1484, Mr. Caxton printed a *A. D.*
 Book, called, *The ryal book or book for a Kyng*: 1484.
 in Frenshe, *le livre royal*: in which ben com-
 pryfid the x commandementes, the xii articles
 of the faith, the vii deedly synnes, the vii pe-
 titions of the *Pater-noster*, the [vii] yestes of
 the holy ghoost, the vii Vertues &c. In the
 hours of the most blessed Virgin after the use of
Sarum, printed 1532 and 1555, they are thus
 mentioned in English. The x commaunde-
 ments, the v wittes, the vii werkes of mercy
 bodily, the vii werkes of mercy goostly, the
 vii gyftes of the holy goost, the vii Sacraments,
 the viii beatitudes, with the vii dedely synnes:
Pryde, Envy, Wrathe, Slouthe, Covetyse, Glo-
thony, Lechery. ‘ This ryal book, Mr. Caxton
 ‘ observed, was compiled at request of King
 ‘ *Phelyp* * le belle of *Fraunce* 1279, and was * *the fair.*
 ‘ reduced by *himself*, out of frenche into eng-
 ‘ lish at the requeste of a singuler frende a
 ‘ worshipfull marchaunt and mercer of *LON-*

‘DON——for a specyall booke to knowe al vices
 ‘and braunchis of them, and also al vertues.
 ‘For that this booke sheweth and enseigneth it
 ‘so subtilly, so shortly, so perceiuingly and so
 ‘perfectly, that for the shorre comprehension
 ‘of the noble Clergie, and of the right grete
 ‘substaunce whiche is comprysed therin, may
 ‘and ought to be called, above all other booke,
 ‘*the royal booke or booke for a king*, for the holy
 ‘Scripture callith euery man a Kyng whiche
 ‘wyfely and parfytyly can gouerne and dyrecte
 ‘hymself after vertue: and also bycause that it
 ‘was made at requeste of that noble kyng *Phelyp*
 ‘imprinted 2 *Richard II.* fol. with figures.

In 1485, Mr. Caxton printed the three following Books:

1. *This story of the noble and valyaunt knyght Paris and the fayr Viennise the daughter of the dolphin of Viennois.* This Booke Mr. Caxton translated out of *Frenshe* into *Englisch*, and finished it the last of *Auguste*, and emprinted it the 19th of *Decembre* 1485.

2. *The lyf of King Arthur, of his noble knyghtes of the round table, and in thende the dolorous deth of th. m. all.* This Booke, Mr. Caxton tells us, was reduced into english by Sir *Thomas Malory* Knyght, and by himself divided into ‘xxi booke chapitred and enprinted and fynished in thabbey of *Westmestre* the last day of ‘*Juyl* this yere.’ How great an Admirer Mr. Caxton was of the History of this Prince and all the noble Knights, &c. has been intimated before. I shall therefore only add, That this Translation by Sir *Thomas Malory* or *Maleore*, was afterwards reprinted by *Thomas East* at *London*, in Folio; and at the End of it is this
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Note: *This translacyon fynysshed the ix yere of the reigne of Kyng Edward the fourthe by Syr Thomas Maleore knyghte, &c.*

3. *The lyf of Charles the great.* Among the Works of *Christina de Pisan*, is one Book in French, with this Title: *Des faits et bonnes mœurs du sage Roy Charles V. fait et composé per Christine de Pisan damoiselle, accompli le desrenier jour de Novembre l'an de grace Mcccciv.*

Mr. Palmer mentions a Book of Homilies as *History of* printed this Year by Mr. Caxton. But this *Printing.* seems to be no other than the *Liber Festivalis* before mentioned, which, through mistake, Mr. Palmer has multiplied into the following Books: 1. *Liber Festivalis.* 2. *Directions for keeping the Feasts of the whole Year.* 3. *An Exposition on the Lord's-prayer, belief, commandmentes, seven sacraments, seven virtues, seven deadly synnes, item the general sentence, or sentence of cursing, modus fulminandi sententiam, the beads on Sondays.* 4. A book of Homilies. The same Writer tells us, That this Year Mr. Caxton likewise printed *Vite Patrum*, which was not printed till after his Death.

The next Year Mr. Palmer tells us, he printed a Book entituled, *A Treatise against Pride.* Of this I can give no Account. A. D. 1486.

The Year following he printed *The booke of good manners.* Fol. This Mr. Caxton tells us, 'was compiled by the venerable Frere Jaques le Graunt, in Latin *Jacobus magnus*, lycen-
'cyat in Theology religious of the Order of Sr. *Austin*, and, that the booke is of auctorite for
'as moche as there is nothyng sayde therein

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‘but for the moost part it is alledged by scripture or ellis by sayeng of holy seyntes doctours philosophres.’— It was delivered to Mr. Caxton by a special *frende* of his, a Mercer of London, named *William Praat*, and translated by him out of *Frenshe* and *fynyshed* the VIII of *Juyn* MIIICLXXXVI.—and *enprynted* XI of May after, 1487.

Mr. Caxton must be now well advanced in Years; so that, either on that Account, or his being disabled by some indisposition, or, that the Books printed by him this Year have no Date, or for some other Reason, there do not appear any of his Books printed the next Year, 1488. Mr. Palmer, indeed, mentions a Book printed by him this Year, named *Dives and Lazarus, A dialogue on the decalogue*. Fol. But this seems the same Mistake which he made about the *Vite Patrum*, which was printed by de Worde, A. D. 1495, as this Book was by the same Printer 1496.

In the next Year were printed, by Mr. Caxton, the two following Books.

A. D. 1489. I. *The doctrinal of Sapience*. Mr. Caxton tells us, That ‘the ryght reverend fader in God Guy de Roye, by the dyvyne miseracyon Archebyshop of *Sençe* had doon this boke for the helthe of *his* soule, and of the soules of alle hys people.—and in especyall for symple lay-men to styr *them* up to devotion;’ and, that it was translated by him out of *Frenshe* at *Westmestre* and *fynyshed* VII of May, 1489. A very curious and accurate Writer has observed, That this Book is the *first* in which he had taken Notice of Caxton’s Cypher *W. C.* being

being applied—— as it generally is in those that he afterwards published. But it appears by what has been already said, that he applied it to one Book, at least, nine Years before. Mr. Palmer intimates, that it was applied to the Book of Chess, the first Book, as I have supposed, printed by Mr. Caxton here in England. The Reason, perhaps, why this Cypher is not oftner met with, is, That being a Sort of Picture on a spare Leaf, at the End of the Books, it has been torn out by Children, &c. as is the known Case of other old Books.

2. *The booke of the fayt of armes and chyvalrye which Christine of Pyle drew out of Vegetius de re militari.* This Book was written in French, and the Title of it, *Le liure des faits d'Armes et de Chevalrie par Christine de Pisan.* Mr. Caxton tells us, it was delivered to him by the most cristen kyng and redubted Prynce his Souerayne lord Henry VII kyng of englond and of fraunce in his palais of Westmestre the xxiiii day of Janyuere the iiii yere of his regne, who defyred and wylled him to translate this said booke, and reduce it into our english and natural tonge, and to put it in Prynte. A. D. 1489.

The next Year Mr. Caxton printed the two following Books.

1. *The boke of Eneidos made in Latyn by that noble Poet and grete clerk Vyrgyle.* A. D. 1490.
This boke was translated out of Latin into

° It does not appear, that Mr. Caxton afterwards printed above three Books.

p This is not a proper Translation of this Poem of Virgil's, but only a History of *Æneas*, taken from thence. It begins with presupposing, that *Troje* the grete capytall cyte, and the excellent of all the cytees of the countree and regyon of *Ase* was construite and

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to ¹ French, as Mr. Caxton tells us, by some noble clerke of Fraunce. To the honour of god almyghty, says he, and to the glorious vyrgyne Marye moder of all grace, and to the utylte and prouffyt of all the policye mondayne this presente booke, compyled by Vyrgyle ryght subtyl and ingenyous oratour and Poete intytuled Eneydos hath be translated oute of laryne into comyn language by some noble clerke or excellent Scholar, of Fraunce. It was translated by Mr. Caxton, out of French Prose into English, and finished by him the 22d Day of Juyn the yere of our lorde 1490 in the 5th yere of K. Henry VII, and presented by him unto the hye borne his to commynge naturell and soverayn lord Arthur Prince of Walys, duc of Cornwall and erle of Chester first bygotten sone and beyer unto oure moste dradde, natural and souerayne lord, and most crysten Kyng Henry VII. At the End is this Colophon :

Here fynysbeth the boke of Eneydos compylid by Vyrgyle which hath be translated out of laryne into frenshe, and out of Frenshe reduced into englyshe by me Wyllm Caxton 4^o. The Leaves are not number'd, nor is there the Direction Word, but only the Signatures¹.

This Translation, as Mr. Caxton calls it, he ² prayed Mayster John Skelton late created ³ Poete laureate in the Universite of Oxenforde.

¹ edefyed by the ryght puyssaunt, and renommed kyng Pryamus sone
² of Inomedon descended of thauncyent stocke of Dardanus by many
³ degrees, whiche was sone of Jubyter and of Elestra his wyf after
 the syctions Poetique.

⁴ Livre des Eneides compilé par Virgile traduit de Latin en Francoys par Guillaume de Roy. Lyon. 1483.

⁵ At the End is the same wooden Print of Mr. Caxton's Cypher as is at the End of *Aymage of the worlde*.

' to oversee and correct, and * caddresse and ex-^{* dedicate.}
 ' powne, where as shall be founde faulte, to
 ' theym that shall requyre it. For him, he said,
 ' he knew suffycient to expowne and englyshe
 ' every difficulte that is therin.' For this he gave
 the following Reason; ' That *Skelton* had late
 ' translated the Epistles of *Tulle*, and the boke
 ' of *Dyodorus Siculus*, and dyuerse otherwerkys
 ' out of *Latyn* into *Englyshe*, not in rude and
 ' olde language, but in polyshed and ornate
 ' termes craftily as he that had reade *Vyrgyle*,
 ' *Ovyde*, *Tullye* and all the other Poetes and
 ' Oratours to him unknown.' *Erasmus*, in a
 Letter of his to King *Henry VIII*, styles this
 Poet, *Britannicarum literarum lumen et decus.* ^{Athena}
 But *he*, too freely reflecting, in some of his ^{Oxon.}
 Poems, on the Conduct of Cardinal *Walsley*, he
 so closely pursued him by his Officers, that
Skelton was forced to take Sanctuary at *West-*
minster, where, it's said, he was kindly enter-
 tained by the Abbat *John Islip*, and died in his
 Sanctuary, and was buried in the Chancel of
 the Church of *St. Margaret's*, hard by the Ab-
 by. Over his Grave was this Inscription put
 soon after:

Johannes Skeltonus Vates Pierius hic situs est.
Animam egit xxi Junij an. Dom. M.D.XXIX.

It seems as if now either Mr. *Caxton's* Busi-
 ness was upon the Decline, or, that *he* was
 about leaving it off. Since he tells us, in his
 Prologue to this Book, That 'after dyvers
 ' werkes made, translated and * achieved, ^{finished.} *ba-*
 ' ving noo werke in honde, he sitting in his stu-
 ' dye, where as laye many dyuerse paunseris
 ' and

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‘and bookys, happened, that to his hande came
‘this lytyl booke in *Frenshe*.’ This, I suppose,
is the same with what is called, *The History of*
Eneas.

2. *A lyttle trayte short and abreged spekyng
of tharte and crafte to lerne well to deye*: trans-
lated out of *Frenshe* into *Englyshe*, by William
Caxton the xv day of *Juyn* 1490. Fol. In a
Collection of *dyures devout treatises*, in *Englysh*
Manuscript, there is one with this Title, *Ar-
moriendi, or the crafte of dying*. Whether this
be the same with that which Mr. Caxton print-
ed, I have it not in my Power to examine. But
this Tract, perhaps, Mr. Caxton might chuse
to translate and print at this Time, for his own
Use as well as that of others, being now arrived
at a Time of Life wherein it behoved him to
think of dying, and to make Preparation for it.
Thus the famous Cardinal *Bellarmino* told his
Friend, Cardinal *Francis Sfortia*, that he wrote
his Book of *The Art of dying well*, that he him-
self, who was now advanced in Years, might
be prepared for Death.

Besides the forementioned Books, we find
printed by this diligent and laborious Man se-
veral others, without the Name of the Place, or
any Notice of the Time when they were printed.
Some of these have been already taken Notice
of in the Order of Time in which I thought it
most probable they were published. Of those
that remain, I shall now give the best Account
I can, and begin with those which are supposed
to be some of his first or most early Perform-
ances.

I. *Boecius de consolacione Philosophie*. This Mr.
Caxton tells us, was translated out of *Latyn* into
our

our usual and moder tongue by the worshipful fader
and first foundeur and embelisher of ornate eloquence
in our English, Maister Geoffrey Chaucer. It is
printed with a Part of Boecius's Latin, and at
the End of the Book is an Epitaph for Chaucer,
in Latin Verse, made by Stephen Surigon,
Poet Laureat of Milan, at the Cost and In-
stance of Mr. Caxton. This is printed in some
of the ' Editions of Chaucer's Works. The
Book is without any Signatures, numbring of
Leaves, Date, or Place of Printing. Mr. Cax-
ton gives us the following Account of the Rea-
sons that induced Chaucer to translate this
Book, and himself to print it. ' Forasmuche,
' says he, as the stile of it is harde and difficile
' to be understonde of simple persones, therfore
' the worshipful fader & first foundeur and
' embelisher of ornate eloquence in our English,
' I mene Mayster Geoffrey Chaucer, hath transla-
' ted it out of Latyn as neygh as is possible to
' be understande. Wherin, in myne oppynon,
' he hath deservid a perpetual lawde and thanke
' of al this noble royaume of England.— Thenne
' for as moche as this sayd boke so translated is
' rare, and not spred ne knowen as it is digne
' and worthy, for the erudicion of suche as ben
' ignoraunt, atte requeste of a singuler frend
' and * gossib of myne, I William Caxton have * kinsman.
' done my * devoir temprynte it in fourme as is * endea-
' here afore made. * vour.

II. A Collection of Chaucer's and Lydgate's

' See The works of our ancient and lerned English Poet Geoffrey
Chaucer, newly printed Londini impensis Geor. Bishop. Anno 1602.
' Stephen Hawes was highly esteemed by King Henry VII.
for his prodigious Memory, which did evidently appear in this,
that he could repeat by heart most of our English Poets, especially
' J. Lydgate, a Monk of Bury, whom he made equal in some Re-
spects with G. Chaucer.

Poems,

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Poems, 4°. This Book is without any Signatures, Date, or Name of Place or Printer. It contains the following Pieces.

1. *Stans puer ad mensam*: or Lessons of Behaviour to the Young.

2. An holy *Salve regina* in english. In the hours of the most blessed Virgin *Mary*, as the Book is termed, is what is there called, *A Prose concerning the blessed Virgin Mary in Latin*, which thus begins; *Salve regina misericordie, vita, dulcedo, et spes nostra, salve.*— Which blasphemous Address was in great Request with the Papists.

3. *Parvus Catho.*

4. *Magnus Catho.*

5. Fable of the Chorle and the Birde. ——— ——— ——— } By *John Lydgate.*
6. Fable of the Horse, the Ghoos, and the Sheep. ——— ——— ——— }

7. A list of proper terms or phrases in speaking of beasts, birds, &c.

8. The temple of glas. By *John Lydgate.*

9. *Scipio's dream* called the Parliament of Birds, or Temple of brass. By *Chaucer.*

10. A trefyſe whiche *John Skogan* sente unto the lordes and gentilmen of the kynge's hows, exortyng them to lose no tyme in theire yonghthe. By *Chaucer.*

11. The good counceyl of *Chaucer*; or the book of curtesy.

12. *Annelida* and *Arcyte.* By *Chaucer.*

13. *Chaucer's* complainte to his Purse.

14. " Thenuoye of *Chaucer* to *K. Henry* the fourthe.

^u *Envoye.* The Envoy, or conclusion of a Ballet or Sonnet, in a short stanza by it self, and serving oftentimes as a dedication of the whole. *Cotgrave's Fr. Diction.*

The

The Writer of the Preface to the last Edition of *Chaucer's Works* 1721, gives the following Account of this Collection from *J. Bagford*; which shews, that neither *he* nor *Bagford* had ever seen it. '*Wylliam Caxton*, or rather *Wyn-Page* 8. *kyn de Worde*, printed in 4°, among other things, several small Pieces of *Chaucer's*, as *the counsel to Chaucer*; *Chaucer's enuoy to Scogan*; *Little John, called the book of courtesy*; *Annelida and false Arcyte*; *the compleynt of Chaucer to his empty purse*, &c.' However, in this Edition the following six Pieces of *Chaucer's*, in this Collection, are thus recited.

1. The Assemble of foules — — p. 413
2. *Scogan* unto the Lordes and Gentilmen of the King's House — — p. 546
3. Goode counsaile of *Chaucer* — — 548
4. Of Queen *Annelida* and false *Arcyte*---430
5. *Chaucer* to his empty purse, p. 549. In the Edition of *Chaucer's Works* 1602, this is said to be *Thomas Occleve's*, who calls *Chaucer* his dere maister and father.

6. *Chaucer* unto the King — p. 549

III. * *The book of fame* made by *G. Chaucer*. * *The House of Fame*, fol. Emprynted by *Wylliam Caxton*. Ed. 1721.

IV. *Canterbury tales* by *Chaucer*. fol. explicit per *Caxton*. Of this there is an imperfect Copy in *Pepys's Library* in *St. Mary Magdalen College* in the University of *Cambridge*; the following Account of which, was kindly transmitted to me by my learned and worthy Friend *Dr. Dan. Waterland*, the present Master of it.

1. Prologue. The Running Title for sixteen Leaves; wherein are contained several little

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little Prologues relating to the insuing Tales.

2. *The knyghtis Tale.* For thirty Leaves.
 3. *The Myller's Prologe.* About two Pages.
 4. *The Myller's Tale.* For nine Leaves.
 5. *The Reve's Prologe.* Quantity of two Pages.
 6. *The Reve's Tale.* Six Leaves, excepting a Page.
 7. *The Cokis Prologe.* Somewhat more than a Page.
 8. *The Cokis tale.* A Page and a half.
 9. *The man of Lawys Prologe.* Three Pages.
 10. *The man of Lawys tale.* Sixteen Leaves.
 11. *The Marchante's Prologe.* One Page.
 12. *The Marchante's tale.* Fifteen Leaves and a half.
 13. *The Prologe of the Squyer.* One Page.
 14. *The Squyer's Tale.* Nine Leaves.
- ² Explicit pars secunda. Incipit pars tertia.

*Apollo whirleth up his chare so high
A till that god Mercurius bous the sligh.*

— there is no more of the Squyer's tale.

15. *The wordes of the Frankeleyns.* A Page.
16. *The Frankeleyns Prologe.* Half a Page.
17. *The Frankeleyns tale.* Twelve Leaves.
18. *The Wyf of Bathe's Prologe.* Twelve Leaves.

² Explicit pars secunda.

*Apollo whirleth up his chair so high
Till that the god Mercurius house be sit.*

¶ There can be found no more of this foresaid Tale, which hath been sought in diures places. *The Workes of—* Geoffrey Chaucer. fol. 25. b. Edit. 1602.

19. *The*

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19. *The Wyf of Bathe's tale.* Five Leaves and a half.
20. *The Freris Prologe.*
21. *The Freris tale.* Five Leaves.
22. *The Sompnour's Prologe.* A little more than a Page.
23. *The Sompnour's tale.* Eight Leaves.
24. *The Prologe of the Clerke of Oxenford.* Two Pages.
25. *The Clerkis tale of Oxenford.* Eighteen Leaves.
26. *Wordes of the Hoost.* Seven Lines.
27. *Second Nennys Prologe.* Two Leaves.
28. *The tale of the Nonne.* Seven Leaves.
29. *The prologe of the Chanon's yeman.* Two Leaves and half.
30. *The tale of the Chanon's yeman.* Ten Leaves.
31. *The tale of the doctour of Pbifick.* Four Leaves.
32. *The wordes of the Hoost.* Somewhat more than a Page.
33. *The Pardoners Prologe.* Two Leaves and one Page.
34. *The Tale of the Pardoner.* Six Leaves and half.
35. *The Tale of the shypman.* Six Leaves.
36. *Verba Hospitis.* Half a Page.
37. *The Pryoresse's Prologe.* One Page and half.
38. *The Tale of the Pryoresse.* Three Leaves.
39. *The Prologue of Chaucer's tale.* One Page.
40. *The Ryme of — Sir Thopas.* Two Leaves and half.
41. *The wordes of the Hoost.* A Page and a half; *sequitur Chaucer's tale.*
42. *The tale of Chaucer.* Twenty Leaves.
43. *The Monkes Prologue.* Three Pages.
44. *The tale of the Monke.* Twelve Leaves.

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45. *The Prologue of the Nonnys Preeft.* A Page and half.
46. *The tale of the Nonnys Preeft.* Nine Leaves.
47. *The Mauncyplis Prologue.* Two Leaves.
48. *The tale of the Mauncypyl.* Three Leaves and half.
49. *The Parsonnys Prologue.* Three Pages.
50. *The tale of the Parson.* Prose. Thirty two Leaves.

Explicit tractatus Galfridi Chaucer de penitencia, ut dicitur, pro Fabula Rectoris.

Now praye I to hem alle that herken thys lityl tretise or reden it, &c.—

V. *Troilus and Creseide.* *Explicit per Caxton.*

VI. *The hyf of the glorious Vyrgyn and Martyr Saynt Katheryn of Sene, with the revelations of Saynt Elyfabeth the kynge's daughter of Hungarie, fol. with Mr. Caxton's Cypher W. C.* The first of these, Mr. Caxton tells us, is a legend compyled by a worshipful clerke, Fryer Raymond of the ordre of St. Domyne doctor of devynyte, and confessor of this holy Virgyn. In the Preface to a little Book in 4^o. printed at Antwerp, 1603, with the following Title, D. Catharinæ Senensis Virginis sanctissimæ Ord. Prædicatorum Vita ac Miracula selectiora * Formis æneis

* This is omitted in Speght's Edition of the Works of Chaucer, Londini impensis Georg. Bishop. 1602. but is added in the new Edition 1721, as it is said, from MS. Ch. with some amendments out of other MSS. where the sense required it: as if the Editor had never seen this Edition of Caxton.

* There are two and thirty of these Copper Cuts. In the last of them it is affirm'd, That the very Hour this *Catherina* died, Thomas Penna, the Apostolical Prothonotary saw the Heavens open, and

aneis expressa, this Frier Raymond is mentioned as one of the Evidences of the Facts here represented, and stiled, B. Raymundus Capuanus Doctor Theologus, et Dominicana familia Magister Generalis. The other of these Tracts seems to have been an English Translation of the Legend in the Lombardic History, or Golden Legend. In a Book entitled, *Liber trium virorum et trium Spiritualium Virginum*. Emis^a. Parisiis 1513, are four Books of the Visions and Discourses of *Elisabeth*, a Nun of *Schonbaug* in Germany, one of her Letters, and a Sixth of her Translation.

VII. *Speculum vite Christi* or the * myrroure of the blessed lyf of Jhesu Cryste compiled from the Latin book of D^r BONAVENTURE de meditacione vite Christi——together with a short treatyce of the best and moste worthy Sacramente of Christe's blessed body and the mervylles thereof. Fol. This is expressly said to be printed by William Caxton, and has his Cypher at the End. W.C. Then follows a devoute * orayson to the Holy Sacramente, and after it * prayer: this Colophon;

Explicit Speculum vite Cristi complete. In omni tribulatione, temptatione, necessitate et an-

and her ascending aloft among Quiers of Angels, and that a devout Widow, named *Semla* saw her crowned with a triple Crown, and received by Christ her Spouse sitting on a Throne.

* The booke that is clepid, *The Mirror of the blessed Lyf of our Lord Jhesu Crist* written first in Latin by Bonaventure, as is said, and translated into English, tho with some variation. It contains devout meditations proper for every Day of the Week. At the end some Miracles of the body of Christ appearing in the Sacrament, and a Prayer to Christ and the Virgin Mary in English. *Catalogus MSS. in CCC Cantab. p. 55.*

gustya, succurre nobis pissima Virgo. Amen.

W. R. C.

Memorandum, quod circa annum domini 1410, originalis copia hujus libri in anglicis presentebatur Londoni per compilatorem ejusdem, reverendissimo in Cristo Patri et domino *Thome Arundell Cantuariensi* Archiepiscopo, ad inspiciendum et debite examinandum antequam fuerat liberè communicata. Qui post inspeccionem ejusdem per dies aliquot retradens ipsum librum memorato ejusdem libri proprie vocis oraculo in singulis commendavit et approbavit, nec non et auctoritate sua metropolitico, ut pote catholicum, publice communicandum decrevit, et mandavit ad fidelium edificationem, et hereticorum sive *Lollardorum* confutationem.

The reason given for the Title of this Book, or its being called *The myrroure of the besyd lyf of Jhesu Criste* is, bycause the *lyf of Criste* may not be fully descryued as the lyves of othir sayntes, but in a manere of lykenesse as thymage of mann's face is shewed in the myrrour or looking glasse.

VIII. ^b *Directorium Sacerdotum* : sive Ordinale secundum usum Sarum, una cum Defensorio ejusdem Directorij ; item *Tractatus qui dicitur* Crede michi. *Fol.* To this Book is prefixed a Callendar, at the End of which is Mr. Caxton's Cypher *W. R. C.* After this follows a Prologue, which ends thus: Nunc igitur

^b Another Edition of this Book was printed by R. Pynson, 1503, with this Title, *Directorium Sacerdotum* sive Ordinale Sarum. In the *Breviary*, after the Use of Sarum, it is called, *Pica*. And in our *Englisch* Liturgy, the *Pye*.

¶ In nomine sancte et individue trinitatis Incipit ordo Breviarij seu Portiforij secundum morem et consuetudinem ecclesie *Sarisenfis* anglicane : una cum ordinali suo : quod usitato vocabulo dicitur *PICA* sive *directorium sacerdotum*.

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tur obsecro vos O dñi sacerdotes, ut hoc directorium benigne a me suscipere dignemini, et secundum illud dirigite viam domini in divinis Officiis celebrandis et dicendis; et cum bene vobis fuerit, mementote mei peccatoris scriptoris totius hujus Ordinalis Clementis Maydeston sacerdotis.

Next this Prologue follows the *Directorium* and the *Defensorium Directorij*, at the End of which is this Colophon:

Impressum est hoc Directorium cum Defensorio ejusdem per Willelmum Caxton apud Westmonasterium prope London.

Then follows the little Tract, called *Crede michi*; the Reason of which Name is given as follows: Quia—— in hoc opere non scribitur aliqua regula nisi sit vera secundum Ordinale Sarum et bene ventilata, ac peritorum virorum testimonio ac sigillis confirmata: ideo presens opusculum vocatur *Crede michi*, nam qui predictas regulas memoriter tenet vix poterit errare in servicio divino, Deo gracias.

Caxton me fieri fecit.

These three are the only Books that we have of Mr. Caxton's printing in *latin*, though there is a good deal of the *latin* Text intermixed with some of the Translations which he printed; as of *Boetius*, *Cato*, the *xii prouffits of tribulacyon*, *Speculum Cristi*; *tharte or craft of dying*. This, however, is a Proof, that he did not confine himself to the printing of *English* Books only.

^c Sequentes Articuli ventilati sunt et approbati per canonicos ecclesie Sarum.

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IX. *The chastysing of Goddes chyldren*, a booke prouffitable for manne's soule, and right comfortable to the body, and specially in aduersite. *Fol.* This Title is thus in a Copy of this Booke in Secretary Pepys's Library; *The proffitable boke for mannes soule and right comfortable to the body, and specyally in aduersite and trybulacyon, whiche boke is callid, The chastysing of Godde's children. At the End is this Colophon:*

This boke was lately translated oute of Frenshe into Englyshe by a right well disposed persone; for because the sayd persone thought it necessary to al devout peple to rede, or to here it rede, and also caused the sayd boke to be enprynted.

W. R. C.

Explicit hic liber castigacionis puerorum Dei,

X. *A booke composed of dyuerse gostly matters.* *Fol.* of whiche the *firste* treatyse is named *Orologium Sapiencie*, shewing seven pointes of true love of everlastynge wildom. At *Westminstre.* *Fol.* This name was gyven herio, as hyt is seyde in the proheme of the boke, bycause that the mater therof was shewn to him that wrote hir, as in a visoun, under the figure and likeness of a wonder fayre *Orologe* seted and arayed with passynge fayre Roses, and with Symbales sweet sownynge, &c.

*Qui legit emendet, pressorem non reprehendat
Wyllelmum Caxton, cui DEUS alta tradat.*

The Colophon informs us, That this booke was lately translated out of Frenshe by a right well disposed

posed person, but unperfyght in such werke, who caused the sayd book to be enprynted, and humbly besoughte the readers of their charite to pray for the soule of the translator. It consists of two other little Tracts besides this.

In the Manuscript Collection of devout *Prayers* *ms.* Tracts, in *English*, before-mentioned, is one with this Title; *Orilogium Sapiencie in maner of a Dialog* [betwixt *Disciple* and *Wysdom*] and *tretith howe we shall lerne to dye*. In this little Tract are several Texts of Scripture quoted from the *Vulgar Latin*, and translated into *English*, particularly *Psalm cxvi. 3. Circumderunt me gemitus mortis, dolores inferni circumdederunt me*; thus translated; *The weymyngtyngs of deth have umbelapped me, and the sorrowes of hell have envyrowned me*. But I have not had it in my Power to compare Mr. Caxton's Print with my Manuscript.

The *second Treatise* in this booke sheweth *xii prouffytes of tribulacion*. 'A lytill short treatise that tellyth how there were *vii* maysters assembled togydre everyche one asked other what thyng they myghte beste speke of that myght please *GOD* & were moost profitable to the peple. And all they were accorded to speke of trybulacyon.' This is likewise in the Manuscript Collection abovesaid, only with this Difference; That in the Manuscript the Title runs, *howe there were fixe masteres assembled togeder*. ———

The *thyrde sheweth the holy rule of Saynt Benet*. 'A compendious abstracte into *English* out of the holy rule of Saynte Benet, for men and women of thabyte therof the whiche understonde lytill Laten or none, to thentente,

MS. in
Bennet's
Coll.

Onduini
Com. de
Scripto.
Ecclesi.

'that they maye often rede, execute the hole
'rewill, and the better kepe it than it is, ac-
'cording to thabyte, and theyre freyte profes-
'syon, &c. Enprynted at *Westminstre* by desy-
'ryng of certeyn worshipfull persones.' 4°. So
Dr. *John Wicliff*, for the same Reason, transla-
ted out of *Latin* into *English*, the *Rule of St.*
Francis.

XI. *The Curiale of Alan Charetier*, translated
out of the *French* into *English*, and printed by
Mr. Caxton. *Churetier* was a famous *French*
Poet and Historian, and Secretary to *Charles*
VI and VII. Kings of *France*. Among the
Books he wrote, this was one, which he enti-
tled *Curiale Gallicum*. He was a great Refiner
of the *French* Language and died *A. D.* 1458.

To these Books of Mr. Caxton's printing,
some have added the following ones, as I sup-
pose, without any Name or Date.

1. *The Life of our Lady* by John Lydgate a
Monk of Bury. This is mentioned in the *Cata-*
logue of translations and poetical devises in Eng-
lish Metre done by John Lydgate, &c. at the
End of the Edition of *Chaucer's Works*, by
Tho. Speght, Anno 1602. Mr. *Tho. Hearne* tells
us it is a thin Folio; but not so correct as a
Manuscript of this Book, which he saw. Per-
haps Mr. Caxton altered the old Language.

2. *The life of St. Edward the Confessor.*

3. *The life of St. Winifrid.* 4°. In our *Eng-*
lish Libraries are several Manuscript Lives of
this Saint in *English*; besides that in the Col-
lection of the Lives of the *English* Saints, by
John Capgrave. See the Life of *St. Wenefrede*,
by the late Bishop *Fleetwood*, *A. D.* 1713.

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4. St. *Austin* the monk raising two dead Persons. 4°. In the *Cottonian Library* is a Manuscript with this Title; *Narratio mirabilis de sententia excommunicationis, B. Augustini Anglorum Apostoli, et qualiter resuscitavit duos mortuos.* This seems to have been the same Book which is said to have been printed in the Abby of St. *Austin's* near *Canterbury*, about 1525. 4°. with the following Title: *A goodly Narration how S. Augustine the Apostle of England rayssed two dead bodies at * Long-Compton, collected* ^{Warwickshire.} *out of divers authors, translated by Jhon Lydgate Monk of Bury.* Perhaps this was reprinted from Mr. *Caxton's* Copy, or printed from *Lydgate's* Manuscript. The Story is told at length by Sir^a *William Dugdale* * and Mr.^a *Selden* †, ^{† Hist. of Warwickshire.} from *John Tinemuth's* or *Anglicus Hist. Autea* ^{MS. to this Purpose: That, about A. D. 504, † Hist. of Tithes.} *Austin* came to *Long-Compton*, in his way to the Place where he went, to confer with the *British* Bishops, called from thence *Austin's-Ac*, ^{Bp. Kennet's Pa- roch. Ant.} or *Oak*; that on his coming thither the Parish Priest met him, and complained to him of the Lord of the Mannor refusing to pay him his just Tithes. On which *Austin* convened the Knight, and finding him obstinate, threatened to excommunicate him, and accordingly went immediately to the Altar and said, *I command, that no excommunicate Person be present at Mass.* On this a former Patron of the Church, and like Offender, who lay buried at the Entrance into the Church, immediately arose out of his Grave, and went out of the

^a See Dean *Prideaux* Original, &c. of Tithes, p. 165.

^a *Selden's Hist. of Tithes*, Ch. ix, x. Ed. M.DC.XVIII.

Church.

* 170 Sel-
den.

Church. *Austin* having Notice of it, as soon as he had done saying Mass, went out of the Church to him; and finding, on his Examination, that he had been excommunicated by the Parish Priest for not paying his Tithes, enquired where that Priest lay buried, and immediately went to his Grave, where he had lain above * 150 Years, and bid him *Arise, for that he had need of him* to confront him with his Patron. Which accordingly he did.—But its very well observed, that if all the Circumstances of this Relation were true, it would prove Christianity and the Discipline of the Church to have flourished here among the *Britains* very early, and to have continued in good Order till this Visit of *Austin*, and, in particular, that the Establishment of the Payment of Tithes was ancients than King *Offa*, the first Author of it, by above 460 Years; or however 200.

5. *The spousage of a Virgin.* 4°.

6. *The siege of Rhodes.* Fol. By * *John Kay*, Poet Laureat to King *Edward IV.*

7. *The book of arts and sciences.* Fol.

8. *De fide et cantu famule sue.*

But now, as has been intimated before, Mr. *Caxton* seems to have been almost quite worn out, and his Labour spent. At this Time, *A. D.* 1491, he must have been of a considerable Age. Supposing him but fourteen Years old when he went Apprentice, its plain he served out his Time, and was made free, both of

* Bishop *Kenner's* Paroch. Antiqu.

* Under *Edward IV.* one *John Kay*, by the Title of his humble Poet Laureat, dedicates to him the *Siege of Rhodes*, in Prose.

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the Company and the City. It is likewise very probable, that he lived with his Master some Years after; so that we cannot well reckon him less than thirty Years old when he went abroad. There he lived thirty Years; which advances his Age, in 1471, to sixty. Accordingly, as we have seen, he then complained of old Age creeping upon him, the Decay of his Sight, and his being much feebled. He must therefore be now about or above fourscore. However this be, we are informed by *de Worde*, that he still kept himself busy, though we do not find, that he printed any thing after the Year 1490. He *synysbed* at the last Day of his lyff, a Book called *Vite Patrum*, or the right devout and solitarie lyfe of the aunciente or alde holy faders heremytes dwelling in the deserts; which was first written in Latin by St. Hierome, Cardinal, and translated by Mr. Caxton out of French. But he did not live to print it; *de Worde* printed it in his Master Caxton's * House * in King's three Years after his Death, which happened street, some time before June 3, A. D. 1492. * In Westmin- ster. 'thaccompte of the Wardens of the Parische ' Church of Seynt Margarete Westminster in ' the shire of Middlesex' [where Mr. Caxton lived, and, as appears by this accompte, was at the passing it in the Years 1480, 82, 84.] ' from the ' 27th day of Maye 1490 the 5th of Hen. VII ' unto the 3d day of June 1492 the 7th Hen- ' ry VII,' are the following Articles, in the second Year of this Accompte, viz. 1492.

* In a priced Catalogue of Mr. Richard Smith's Books, sold by Auction. 1682. *Vite Patrum per Beatus Hieronymum Card. &c.* Lugduni 1502. 4^{to}. was sold for 4s.

* Item,

- ' Item, atte bureyng of *William Caxton* for
 ' iiii Torchcs ————— vis. viii d.
 ' Item, For the Belle atte the same burey-
 ' inge ————— vi d.

By the same Book it appears, in the ¹ *accounte* of the Receipts of the *Yeare* 1497, that he *leste* to the Parish of *S. Margaret's* thirteen of his printed *Golden Legends*, and by another ² Book, containing Things relating to the Abby, that his Executors gave to it, in 1504, two *bokes of the lyfe of Seynt Katerine*, two of *the birth of our Lady*. We find no mention of any Children of *Mr. Caxton's*; so that, very probably, he lived and died a single Man.

Mr. Caxton, in his printed Books, expressed a great Sense of Religion, and wrote like one who lived in the Fear of God, and was very desirous of promoting His Honour and Glory. Thus in the Book of *chyvalrye or knyghtbode*; 'Unto the prayfinge and dyvyne glory of god, *says he*, whiche is lorde and souerayne kynge above and over all thynges celestyal and worldly, we begin this booke.' But he was so far carried away by the established Errors and superstitions of his Time, as to be an Advocate for, and Encourager of some of the worst of them; as engaging in what they then called the *Holy War*, or marching armed Forces into the Land of *Judea*, to recover that and the City *Jerusa-*

¹ Item, Received in Books called *Legends* of the bequest of *W^m. Caxton*. xiii.

² Item, iiii prynted bokes, ij of them of the lyfe of seynt *Katerine*, and other ij of the birth of our Lady, of the gift of the executors of *Caxton*.

lem, out of the Hands of the *Turks*; and going in Pilgrimage, or Sainterring, to visit that Holy Place, &c. And yet, as has been observed, whosoever turns over his printed Works, must contract a Respect for him. He made Choice of such Books to print as had a Tendency to promote Religion and encourage Virtue and good Manners: To use his own Words; 'Books in which he found many good enseignementis and learnynge, and good ensamples for al maner of peple in generally: special books to know all vyces, and braunchis of them, and also al vertues.' How different is this from the Practice and Usage of more modern Times! when such Books are rather chosen to be printed, as serve to please Men of corrupt Minds, and vicious Inclinations, and have a Tendency to destroy all sound and vertuous Principles, and debauch Mens Morals. But one cannot well help observing, on considering what those Books were which Mr. *Caxton* printed, at how low an Ebb Knowledge or Learning was here in *England* in his Time, and how poor and insipid the general Taste. His Performances were, we have seen, very near all in *English*, and they, for the most Part, Translations from the *French*, and not original Compositions of any of our own Country-men. Though he practised the Art of Printing near twenty Years, we do not find he printed any one Classsical Writer, or any Edition of any of the *Greek* or *Roman* Poets and Historians. No, not even in the famous University of *Oxford*, where the Press was wholly employ'd in printing *Latin* Books, do we yet find any one of these printed. As for his not printing any of the

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the *English* Translations of the *Old* and *New Testament*, Sir *Thomas More* has accounted for
 Dyaloges, it in the following Manner. ' That on account
 Fol. 49. ' of the ¹ Penalties order'd by Archbishop *Arun-*
 Col. 1. ' del's Constitution, though the old translations
 Ed. 1529. ' that were before *Wycliff's* days remayned law-
 ' ful and were in some folkys handys had and
 ' red, yet he thought no Prynter would lyghtly
 ' be so hote to put any byble in prent at hys
 ' owne charge—— and then hange upon a
 ' doutfull tryall whyther the fyrst cotype of hys
 ' translacyon was made before *Wycliff's* dayes
 ' or synnys. For yff yt were made synnys, yt
 ' must be approued byfore the pryntyng.' But
 such an Approbation, Sir *Thomas* intimates,
 was not then to be had.

Mr. *Caxton* appears to have been a very hum-
 ble, modest and vertuous Man. He often stiles
 himself a *rude and simple Person*, confesses his
 Ignorance, and *humblly beseeches the pardon of his*
readers, and their pacience to correct his workes,
 and expresses himself in other Terms so sub-
 missive and self-abasing as are very uncommon,
 and more easily admired than imitated. A
 Proof of his grateful Temper, is his owning
 the particular Encouragement and Benefactions
 he received, and especially his Obligations to
 the Cyty of *London*. ' I *William Caxton* Cytezeyn
 Dedication of Cato. ' & Conjurge of the same, of the fraternyte and
 ' felawship of *Mercery* owe of ryght my servyse
 ' and good wyll to it, and of very dute am
 ' bounden naturelly to assist and counceille her

¹ These were the same with those of being the Fautors of Heresy,
 viz. The greater Excommunication and Death. See *Lyndwood*,
Provinciale.

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‘as fer forth as I can, as to my moder of whom
‘I have receyued my noureture and lyvyng,
‘and shall praye for the good prosperite and po-
‘lecy of the same duryng my lyf.’

He was a Man of no more Learning than, as he ingenuously confessed, he had by his Knowledge of the *English* and *French* Languages, in which, he modestly acknowledged, he remembered himself of his Rudeness and Unperfitness. He likewise translated *Reynard the Fox* out of *Dutch*; which shews he likewise understood that Language. It is a Mistake to say, that he understood the *Latin* Tongue, and translated Books out of *that* into *English*. By the Account which has been given of his printed Books, it sufficiently appears in how great Favour and Request he was with the Princes and great Men of his own Time: Though, he owns, he was ^m unknown to some of them to whom he dedicated his Books. In his Book called *Eneidos*, he intimates in what Esteem he was had on Account of his knowing and understanding the ancient *English* Language; in-
somuch that he tells us, the Lord Abbat of *Westminster*, who, I suppose, was then *John Estney*, put into his Hands some of the ancient Deeds or Charters belonging to that Abby, written, perhaps, in the *Saxon* Character, for him to explain or copy in modern *English*, or that which was then in use: but he modestly

^m In his Dedication of *the Game of Chess* to the Duke of Clarence, he styles himself his *bumble and unknown servant*. This is not to be wonder'd at, considering he was then but very lately return'd to *England*, where he was almost quite a stranger, and, that this was the first Book which he printed after he was settled at *Westminster* 1474.

owned

Dr. Middleton's
Dissertation.

owned his Insufficiency for such a Task : And no Wonder ; since now the *English* Language was so much altered from what it was before the Conquest, as not only to be different in the Words and Manner of Spelling, but even in the very Letter or Character ; so that the Writing used here before the coming of the *Normans*, was become illegible to the common People, and even to most of the Learned. This seems to confirm what has been already observed of his being the first Printer of *England*, or the first who introduced that noble Art into this Kingdom : since, had there been any one before him, however, so long as six Years, it's scarce credible that Mr. *Caxton* should have been so much carested, and fully employ'd, and have flourished as he did, in the Sun-shine of the *English* Court and Nobility, and principal Gentry. Accordingly our very diligent and learned Antiquarian *John Leland*, who died at *London* 1552, but threescore Years after Mr. *Caxton*, and who, though he could not know him himself, was, very probably, acquainted with some who did, stiled Mr. *Caxton* *Anglie Prototypographus*, the first Printer of *England*. And *be*, one would think, should know, who, besides his living so near Mr. *Caxton*'s own Time, as to be almost his Cotemporary, made it his Business, with the utmost Industry and Application, to search for, and enquire after our *English* Writers.

Of all our *English* Writers, Mr. *Caxton* most admired our Poet ^a *Geoffery Chaucer*. ' In all
' his

^a *Geffery Chaucer* the most excellent Poet of *Englands* deceased the 25 day of *October*, 1400, who was buried at *Westminster* where
of

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‘his works, he said, he excelled, in his opinion, all other writers in our *English*. For he writeth no voided wordes, but all his matter is full of high and quicke sense: to whom ought to be given laude and prayfyinge for his noble making and writing, for of him all other have borrowed since and taken.’ Elsewhere he styles him, ‘the worshipful father and first founder and embellisher of orate eloquence in our *English*; the firste embellisher in making the sayd language orate and fayre, and deserving perpetual lawde and thanke of all this noble realme of *Englond*.’ Accordingly, as a Proof of the Respect which Mr. Caxton had for this great and worthy Man’s Memory and Writings, and his Desire to preserve and perpetuate them, one of his most early Performances was his collecting and printing as many of his Works as he could get. He likewise procured, as has been hinted before, an Elegy to be made for him in *Latin* Verse, and caused two of the Verses, there being in all thirty four, to be inscribed on Chaucer’s Monument in *Westminster* Abby, viz.

*Galfridus Chaucer vates et fama Poësis
Materne, hac sacra sum tumulatus humo.*

Lastly, Mr. Caxton desired his Readers, according to the Superstition of his Time, that

of late is made over him a faire monument on the South side of the Quire. His Workes are for the most part published in printe by Sir John Thyn knight, somewhat increased by my travaile in the laste impression, 1532. *Summary of English Chronicles*, p. 330.

^a See the Book on the Praise of the Virgin Mary, by John Lydgate. Printed by Mr. Caxton.

K

of

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of their charite they would pray for the said worshipful *Geffery Chaucer*.

As to Mr. *Caxton's* printing, it has been observed, that his first Performances are very rude and barbarous. He used a Letter resembling the Hand-writing then in Use. His d, at the End of a Word, is very singular, thus, *yd*. He used the Characteristics which we find in the *English MSS.* before the Conquest; such as *ȝ*, for gh, *ȝȝ*, for and. Instead of Commas and Periods, he used a transverse or oblique Stroke, thus, / as the *Dutch Printers* do to this Day, in their *Gothic Impressions*. Mr. *Palmer* observed, That he used a Letter peculiar to himself, and which is easily known from any other, being a Mixture of *Secretary* and *Gothic* as to Shape; and sometimes of *Great Primer* as to Size; especially in printing proper Names. He had a way of joining almost any two Characters together; which, perhaps, might induce Mr. *Bagford* to suppose, that the Types which he used were not distinct, or fusile Types, made of Metal, and cast in Molds, as they are now. In his Titles he used the *German Text*, or what our Printers call the *Gothic*, of the Size of *Great Primer*, and sometimes he mix'd it with his *Secretary*, or common Print, as our Printers now do the *Italic*. Like the other Printers of his Time, he never used any Direction or Carchword, but placed the Signatures where that now stands; and rarely number'd his Leaves, but never his Pages, as has been already intimated. Mr. *Palmer* has observed, That the *Liber Festialis*, or *Festivialis*, is the only one of his Books whose Lines are not spaced out to the End, which, he says, is an after Improvement

ment and Elegancy introduced by Mr. *Caxton*, in Imitation of foreign Printers. In most of his Books which I have seen, he only printed, as the Custom then was, a small Letter at the Beginning of his Chapters, to intimate what the Initial or Capital Letter should be, and left that to be made by the Illuminator, who wrote it with a Pen, with red, blue, or green Ink. Thus are the Initial Letters, in his Edition of the *Polychronicon*, made with red Ink: But in some of his Books he used flourished Initials, or what the Printers call blooming Capitals. As he printed long before the present Method of adding the *Errata* at the End of Books was in Use and Practice, so his extraordinary Exactness obliged him to take a great deal more Pains than can easily be imagined; for, after a Book was printed off, his way was to revise it, and correct the Faults in it with red Ink, as they then used to correct their written Books. This being done to one Copy, he caused one of his Servants to run through the whole Impression, and correct the Faults he had noted with a Stanefil, or Red-lead Pencil, which he himself afterwards compared with his own corrected Copy, to see that none of the Corrections he had made were omitted. Mr. *Bagford*, from whom I take this Account, adds, That Mr. *Caxton* translated his Books, printed, corrected, illuminated, and bound them in his Office or Printing-house: Though Mr. *Caxton* himself seems to intimate, that the first of these he did sometimes in his Study.

His Books are printed on Paper made of the Paste of Linen Rags, very fine and good, almost like the thin Vellom on which they used to

See the Paper Mark.

Connecti-
on, &c.
Part I.
Book VII.

write their Books at that Time. When this was first invented I have not been able to find; but our learned Dean *Prideaux* informs us, That he had seen a Registration of some Acts of *John Cranden*, Prior of *Ely*, made upon Paper which bears Date in the *fourteenth* Year of King *Edward II*, that is, *Anno Domini 1320*; and, that in the Bishop's Registry at *Norwich*, there is a Register Book of Wills, all made of Paper, wherein Registrations are made; which bear Date so high up as the Year of our Lord 1370, just an hundred Years before the Time that Mr. Ray said the Use of it begun in *Germany*. Whether this Paper which *Caxton* used was made in *England*, I am not capable of informing my self; but *Wynken de Worde*, in his Edition of *Bartholomei opus de rerum proprietatibus*, in *English Folio*, without Date, mentions one *John Tate*, as a Maker of it, in *England*, at that Time:

*And to John Tate the younger joi mote he broke
Which since bath in England doo make this Paper
thinne,
That now in our English tongue this boke is printed
inne.*

The Ink which Mr. *Caxton* used is thorough black and lasting.

When the Printers generally used the Direction Word, and numbring the Leaves of their Books, is not, perhaps, easy to know. At *Venice* the Direction Word was not used by the Heirs of *Luke Anthony*, so long after the first Introduction of Printing there as 1560. *Henry Stevens*, who printed at *Paris* 1513, numbred his Leaves; as did other Printers of that Place,

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fo early as 1508, 10. *John Brielinger* of *Strasburg*, numbred his with *Roman* Capitals, as we have seen *Mr. Caxton* did the *Æsop's* Fables which he printed. *Jacob Aurick*, at *Emdden*, 1534, numbred every other Leaf; and *John Lufft*, at *Witteberg*, the same Year, though he used the Signatures and Direction Word, did not number any of his Leaves. *Andrew Cratandre* and *John Frobenius*, at *Basil*, 1521, numbred the Pages of their Books; and yet *Adam Peters*, who printed at the same Place, 1522, only numbred the Leaves of his: But neither he nor *Cratandre*, used the Direction Word. *Martin Morin*, at *Roane* in *Normandy*, 1499, used no Direction Word, and did not number either the Leaves or Pages of his Books, and put the Signatures only on every other Leaf of the first half Sheet in 4°. thus, ai, aii.

Mr. Caxton had a Foreman, or Journey-man, one *Wynkyn de Worde*, a *German*, who seems to have come into *England* with him from *Cologn*. However, he lived with *Mr. Caxton*, in his House at *Westminster*, and after his Death, succeeded him there, for some Time, in his printing Business and Imployment: Since, by some Rhymes printed by him at the End of *Walter Hilton's* Scale or Ladder of Perfection, 1494, two Years after *Mr. Caxton's* Death, it appears, that he printed that Book in *Mr. Caxton's* House.

*And Wynkyn de Worde this bath set in prynt
In Wylliam Caxton's bows. ———*

He likewise used his Master's Cypher, which he thus varied, *W. X. C.* This was a Part
K 3 of

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Madox
firma
Burgi.
p. 47.
Augmen-
tat. Office,
Coll. 1.
Anstis,
Esq;

of his Sign, *The Sun and Stars*; under which he placed his own Name, *WYNKYN DE WORDE*. He was Printer to the Lady Margaret, Countess of Richmond, &c. Mother to King Henry VII. He seems to have died A. D. 1534; since, in a Survey on the Statute for dissolving Chantries, 1 Edward VI, is this Certificate: 'Under the Paroche of St. Brid's in Fleetstreet Wynkyn de Worde, deceased XII Yeres past, willed and gave to the sayde Church in money to buy lands with the same, and with the Proffittes thereof to kepe an Obite for his soul for ever xxxvi^{lib}.'

Mr. Caxton had likewise an Apprentice or Servant, one Richard Pynson, an Englishman, I suppose, who, in the Year ° 1493, the Year after his Master Caxton died, set up for himself at the Temple-bar, at the Sign of the George, London; and afterwards was Printer to King Henry VII. being the second of our English Printers who bore that Title: One William Fanque, who, by the Command of K. Henry VII, printed the Psalter, in Latin, Anno 1504, then stiling himself *Impressor Regius*. However this be, Pynson, in his Proheme to his Edition of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales, stiles Mr. Caxton his worshipful Master, and tells his Readers, That 'this boke had bin diligently ovirsene and duely examined by his Politike reason and oversight.' Both these Printers used their Master Caxton's Cypher, with some Variation; and lived toge-

° Here endith a compendious treatise dyalogue of Dives & Pauper, that is to say the riche and the Pore fructuously tetryng upon the X commaundementes fynysshed the V day of Juy! the yere of oure lord god, Mccccxxxviii. Empremented by me Ricbarde Pynson at the temple barre of london. Deo gracias.

ther

ther in very great Friendship. Mr. Palmer observed of the first of these, *de Worde*, that his excellent Method of Disposition, Composition, and Press-work, shews him to have far excelled his Master *Caxton*, and even to have rivalled any of his Cotemporaries abroad: That *he* is the first *English* Printer who introduced the *Roman* Letter into *England*, which he used with his *Gothic* or black Letter, to distinguish any Thing remarkable, as we do the *Italic* with the *Roman* at this Time: That his Letter is different from most other Printers, and is cast so true, and stands so well in Line, as not to be excelled by any ever since: That the very Letter *he* made Use of, is the same that is used by all the Printers in *London* to this Day, and, he believed was struck from his Puncheons: That he is the only Printer, he could find in *England*, that used the small bodied Letters in the Infancy of the Art: And, that upon the Whole, he was a very curious, laborious and indefatigable Printer. The same knowing and ingenious Artist tells us of *Pynson*, that he was an excellent Printer, and a thorough Master of the Art of Printing. So much was this noble Art, or Mystery of Printing improved and perfected here in *England*, in little more than twenty Years Time.





APPENDIX.

NUMBER I.

Super Treugis Burgundiæ.

Rymer's
Fœdera,
Tom. XI.
p. 536.

A. D. 1464. } **R**EX omnibus, ad quos, &c.
An. 4. E. 4. } Salutem. Sciatis, quod
cum certa Appunctuamenta, Intercursum Mar-
chandisarum inter Subditos nostros ac Subdi-
tos carissimi consanguinei nostri Ducis Bur-
gundiæ concernentia, sub certis modo et for-
ma ante hæc tempora concordata fuerant et
conclusa, sæpiusque interim prorogata, Nos,
Appunctuamenta illa pro Parte Nostra teneri
et observari volentes, ac de fidelitatibus et pro-
vidis circumspeditionibus dilectorum et fidelium
nostrorum *Richardi Whitebill* armigeri et *Wil-*
lielmi Caxton plenius confidentes, ipsos *Richar-*
dum et *Williellmum* nostros veros et indubitatos
Ambaffiatores, Procuratores, Nuncios et De-
putatos speciales facimus, ordinamus et consti-
tuimus per præsentis: dantes et concedentes
eisdem Ambaffiatoribus, Procuratoribus, Nun-
ciis et Deputatis Nostreis, et eorum utrique,
plenam potestatem et auctoritatem ac manda-
tum generale et speciale ad conveniendum, tra-
ctandum, et communicandum cum præfato
Consanguineo Nostro, seu ejus Ambaffiatoribus,
Pro-

Procuratoribus, Nunciis, et Deputatis, sufficientem potestatem ab eodem Consanguineo Nostro ad hoc habentibus, de et super continuatione Intercursus prædicti, et prorogatione ejusdem, et, si necesse fuerit, de novo capienda, appunctuanda et concludenda, cæteraque omnia et singula quæ in præmissis necessaria fuerint et opportuna, faciendum et exercendum; promittentes, bona fide et in verbo Regio, Nos ratum, gratum et firmum pro perpetuo habituros totum et quicquid per dictos Ambassiatore, Procuratores, Nuncios et Deputatos Nostros, seu eorum alterum, in forma prædicta, actum, gestum, seu procuratum fuerit in præmissis seu aliquo præmissorum. In cujus testimonium, &c.

*Teste Rege apud Wycomb viceffimo die
Oëtobris. Per ipsum Regem, et de datâ
prædictâ.*

NUMBER II.

*An Account of the first Invention of
Printing, from John Fox's Acts and
Monuments, &c.*

IN following the course and order of Yeares we find this Year 1450 to be famous and memorable for the divine and miraculous invention of PRINTING. ^aNauclerus, and ^bWymfelingus following him, referre the invention thereof to the Yeere 1440. *In Paralipo.*

^a Chronicon Univerfale 1579.

^b Epitome rerum Germanicarum 1575.

* Stras-
burgh.

A. D.
1460.

Abbatis Ursi. it is recorded, this faculty to be found anno 1446. *Aventinus* and *Zieglerus* do say anno 1550. The first inventor thereof, as most agree, is thought to be a *German*, dwelling first in * *Argentine*, afterwards a Citizen in *Mentz*, named *John Faustus*, a Goldsmith. The occasion of this invention first was by engraving the letters of the Alphabet in metal: who then laying black inke upon the metall gave the form of letters in paper. The man being industrious and active, perceiving *that*, thought to proceed further, and to prove whether it would frame as well in words and whole sentences, as it did in letters. Which when he perceived to come well to pass, he made certain other of his counsell, one *John Guttemberge* & *Peter Schafferd*, binding them by their oath to keepe silence for a season. After ten Years *John Guttemberge*, compartner with *Faustus*, began then to broach the matter at *Strausborough*. The Art being yet but rude, in process of time was set forward by inventive wits adding more and more to the perfection thereof: In the number of whom *John Mentell*, and *John Prus* at *Strausborough* and *Adolphus Ruscius* were great helpers. *Ulricus Han*, in Latin called *Gallus*, first brought it to *Rome* 14. whereof this Epigram was made:

Anser, Tarpeij custos, vigilando quod alis
Constreperes, Gallus decidit, ultor adest.
Ulricus Gallus, ne quem poscantur in usum,
Edocuit pennis nil opus esse tuis.
Imprimit ille die quantum non scribitur Anno.
Ingenio, haud noceas, omnia vincit homo.

NUMBER

NUMBER III.

English Chronicle, MS.

Caxton's Print.

THE lordes of Engelande had so miche helpe and strengeth of Lowys the kinge's sone of Fraunce, so that he [K. John] ^a nyfte whider to turne. And so hit came in his thought for to have gon to Nichole, and so he come by the Abbay of Swyneshede, and there he duelled too dayes ¶ And as he sate at his mete bred was set bifor him upon the table. the king toke a lof in his bande & axede what such a lof were worth? Sire, quoth the monk, an halpenye. O god, quoth the king, here ys grete chepe of brede, but yf that I may leue and haue myn bele or this half yer suche a loof sal ben worth xx^s. And whenne the king had so sayde he sate stille and ofte sichede and toke and ete of the brede.

^a wist not.

Now,

THE barons had so huge parte & helpe thorough lowys the Kynge's sone of Fraunce that kyng John wyf not to torne nego. And so it befell that he wolde have gone to Nycholl. And as he went thyderwarde he came by the abbaye of Swyneshede and there he abode two dayes. And as he sate at mete he axed a monke of the hous how moche that a loofe was worth that was sette before hym upon the table. And the monke sayd that the loof was worth but an half peny. O^s, sayd the kynge, tho, here is greate ^b chepe of brede. Now, sayde he tho, and I may leue ony whyle suche a loofe shal be worth xx shelynges or halfe a yere be gone.

^a quoth Bedlei.^b chear.

And

English Chronicle, MS.

Caxton's Print.

Now, by god, quoth he, the worde that I haue sayde sal be balde. ¶ the monke that stode bifore him was sory in hert and thoughte ordeyne therfore sum remedye though he sulde suffre deth therfore. ¶ the monke anon wente to his Abbot and tolde al that the king hadde seyde and confessede him to his Abbot, and ^b bade him for to assoille him for he wolde geve the kinge suche a drynke that al Englonde sulde be glad therof & merye. ¶ the monke anon wente into a gardyn and fonde a grete tode & toke her up and putte hir in a cup, and ^c nome a prik and smote hir thorough in meny ^d stedes so that the venyme com out in meny places. the monke toke a cup and fillede hit with gode ale and broughte before the king and sette him on his knees, &

And so when he sayd this worde, moche he thought, and often he syghed, and toke & etc of the brede, and sayd, by god the worde that I have spoken it shall be sothe.

¶ The monke that stode before the kyng was for this worde full sory in hys herte, and thought rather he wolde hymself suffre ^e deth, and thought yf he myght ordeyne therfore some maner remedye. And anone the monke wente unto hys abbot and was shryuen of him, and tolde the abbot all that the kyng had sayd, and prayed hys abbot for to assoyle hym, for he wolde yeue the kyng such a ^d drynke that all Eng-land shold be glad therof and joyfull. ^e Thoyede the monke into a gardeine, and founde a grete tode therin, and

^b prayed.^c tooke.^d places.^e piteous deth.^e tho' went.^d Wassaile.

saide

toke

APPENDIX.

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English Chronicle, MS.

Caxton's Print.

saide Sir^e, Watsaille: for neuere dayes of gbourne lyf ne dronke ghe suche ale. zbegyn, quoth the king, the monke toke the cuppe & dranke a grete draught, and toke the cuppe tho to the king [who] dranke a grete draughte and set adoune the cuppe. ¶ And anon the monke wente into ⁱfermerye and anon deide of whas soule god haue mercye. And fyf monkes fullet synge for him specially whiles that the Abbay stant. ¶ the king anon aros him op al euell at ese and commaunded to remeue the table, and anon be axed astir the monke, and men tolde the king that he was ded & bys bely also brosten and his bowelles fallen out. ¶ And when the kyng herde this he commaunded anon trusse and al bit was for nought, for he

toke her up and put her in a cuppe and prycked the tode thorough with a broche many tymes tyll that the venym came out of euery syde in the cuppe. And tho tooke ⁱ the cuppe & fyllyed it with good ale, and brought it before the kyng knelynge. ^s sayenge, Syr^h, sayd he wafsayll for ⁱ euer the dayes so all lyf dronke ye of ^k so good a cuppe. ¶ Begyne monke, ⁱ sayd the kyng. ¶ And the monke dranke a grete draught, and toke the kyng the cuppe, and the kyng dranke also a grete draught, and sette downe the cuppe. The monke anon ryght wente into ^m farmere and there deyed anone, on whoos soule god have mercy. Amen. And five monkes synge for his soule specyally,

^e your healib, q. wiss-bele.
ⁱ the infirmery, or room appointed for sick persons.

^f he the. ^s sayd. ^h quoth.
ⁱ never. ^k such. ^l quoth.
^m the fermorie.

began

and

English Chronicle, MS.

Caxton's Print.

began to ^a balne that
mighte not helpe be so
that withinne too dayes
he deide, and was on the
morrowe oppon sent lucas
^b daye. — he died in
the castel of Newewerke
and his body was ente-
rede at ^c Wynchestre.

^a blow, swell.^b October 19, 1216.^c Wyrcestre.

and shall ⁿ whyle that
the abbaye standeth.
The Kyng ^o rose up
anone full euyl at ease
and commaunded to re-
meue the table and ax-
ed after the monke,
And men tolde hym
that he was deed for his
wombe was broken in
sondre. When the kyng
horde this he comaund-
ed ^p for to trusse ^q, but it
was for nought for is
belly began ^r to swelle
for the drynke that ^s he
had dronke, ^t and with-
in two dayes he deyed
on the morrowe after
Saynt Lukys daye —
he deyed in the castell
of newerke, and his
body was buried at
wynchestre.

ⁿ while the Abbey stand.^o arose anone.^p to trusse.^q but all it.^r so to.^s he

drank.

^t that he died with-

in two daies the —

En l'abbeye de Swynheued home l'enpuso-
nayt. Il gist a Wyrcestre, il memes le volait
Anno Domini 1216. *Peter de Langtoft*, in
French.

Ex

Ex Historia Anglicana, a Bartholomæo de Cotton Monacho Norwicensi anno gratiæ 1292 conscripta.. MS. in Bibliotheca Cottoniana.

Anno 1216. Die S. Lucæ Evangelistæ Johannes Rex obiit, veneno extinctus apud Swinesheived a quodam hospitali dictæ domus, et sepultus est apud *Wigorniam*.

E Chronico Johannis Abbatis S. Petri de Burgo.

Rex [Joannes] vero cædibus et incendiis vacans, de *Northfolk* versus *Lyndsey* per abbathiam *Swyneshevede* venit; ubi, secundum quosdam, potionatus transiit *Stafford*, ubi supra modum diffenteria vexatus, in lectica ad castellum de *Newerk* portatus obiit; cujus viscera apud *Crokeston* condita sunt, corpus vero *Wygornia* delatum, ac in ecclesia cathedrali sepultum est.

This Chronicle ends 1259.

A Petegreu fro William Conqueror of the Crowne of Engelande, &c. MS. in the Herald's Office. Printed 1724.

In * his tyme was gret deorthē :
xii^d an half peny loof was worthe.
Then he made a Parlement
And swore in angre verament,
That he wold make such a ^u scante,
To fede alle Englonde with a ^x spande

* K. John's

^u scant, scarcity.

^x A Spon. a chip.

And

APPENDIX.

And eke with a whitè looff,
 Therfore he was to God' ylothe.
 A monke * anone therof herde,
 And for Engeland was fore aserde.
 A poysone then he ordenyd anone,
 So was he poysoned and deied ryght sone.

Peter Langtoft's Chronicle.

& Jon regned in this estre kyng auhten ghere,
 At the abbay of *Suynesheued* ther he drank poysoun,
 At *Hauche* his lif he leued, so say men of that toun.

*In librorum imprimendorum rationis laudem
 quidam hos cecinit versus.*

O felix nostris memoranda impressio seclis
 Inventore * nitet utraque lingua tuo
 Desierat quasi totum quod fundis in Orbem
 Nunc parvo doctus quilibet esse potest.
 Omnes te summis igitur nunc laudibus ornent,
 Te duce quando ars hec mira reperta fuit.

*D. Hartmanni Schedel Chronicon Nurem-
 bergii consummat. 12^o mensis Julij anno*

Salutis nostre 1493. fol. ccln.

* *hateful, loathsome.*

* *presently.*

NUMBER IV.

*The Lord's Prayer, Creed, and Ten Commandments, according to the Festival.**The Lord's Prayer.*

Fader our that art in hevens, halowed be thi name: thy kingdom come to us; thy wyll be done in erthe as is in heven; Our euery dayes brede gyve us to day; and forgyve us our trespasiss, as we forgyve them that trespasse agenste us; and lede us not into temptatyon, but delyuer us fro all evyll synne, amen.

The XII artycles of the fayth.

I Byleue in god fader almyghti maker of heuen 1.
 and of erth; I byleve in *Jhesu Christe* his 2.
 only sone our lorde; I beleue, that he was conceived of the holy ghost and borne of the virgine *Mary*. I byleve, that he suffered payne 3.
 under Ponce Pilate doon on the crosse, dede and beryed: I byleve, that he went downe to helle: 4.
 the thirde day arose from deth to lyfe: I by- 5.
 leue, that he stied up into heuen and set him 6.
 ther on his fathers right honde: I byleve, that 7.
 he is to come to deme the quicke and the dede: I byleve in the holy ghooft: the thyrde person 8.
 of the trinyte. I byleve in holy chirche and 9.
 comeninge of sayntes. I byleve remission of 10.
 synnes. I byleve ryfing of body. I byleve in 11, 12.
 everlasting lyfe.

L

The

The X commaundementis of god.

1. **T**HE *first* he commaundeth, that thou have
2. no god but him. The *seconde* is, that thou take not in vayne the holy name of god. The
3. *thirde* is, have in mynde to halowe thy holy dayes: that is to saye sondayes and other that
4. be boden. The *iiii* is worshyp thy fader and moder. The *fyfthe* is, thou shalt not slee.
5. The *vi* is thou shalt do no lechery. The *vij*
- 6, 7. commaundement is, thou shalt not stelen. The
8. *viii* is, thou shalt bere no fals wytnesse. The
9. *ix* is, thou shalt not desyre thy neyghbours
10. wif. The *x* commaundement and the last is, thou shalte not desire thy neyghboure's thing, house, londe, oxe, asse, nother nothing that is his.



Corrections and Additions.

P R E F A C E.

PAGE ix. Line 17. read, *seven* Years before it was practised, or, however, but *three* after it was first thought of.

P. xi. L. 14. r. only the Manuscript is, in some Places, corrected, and the old and obsolete Language sometimes.

P. xii. Col. 2. L. 3. from bottom. In *Caxton's* own Edition of this Chronicle it is, *the whiche he leete make in the syxth yere of his regne.*

Ib. L. 3. Note. *Matthew* xviii. 32. which, in our present *English* Translation is render'd, *O thou wicked Servant,* is, in our *Saxon* or old *English*, *Eala thu ly-thra theowa.*

P. xiii. L. 5. The Time of this memorable Fact is differently reported by our ancient Historians. *Roger de Hoveden*, tells us, That *Anno gratiæ 1156, qui erat annus tertius regni regis Henrici* — *idem Henricus* — *novam fecit monetam, quæ sola recepta erat et accepta in regno.* *Radulphus de Diceto* and *Matth. Westmon.* mention this as done 1158, or the *fifth* of his Reign. *Matt. Paris*, and *William of Newbery*, place it to the Year 1180, or the 27th Year of this Prince's Reign. *Nova moneta in Anglia facta est* — *Forma monete publicæ, a falsariis corrupta, mutata est in Anglia.*

B O O K.

Page 16. Line 9. In the Preface to his *second* Edition of this Book, without any Date or Name of
L 2 Place

Place where printed, Mr. *Caxton* thus addressed his Readers: — "emonge alle other good werkys, It is a werke of ryght special recomendation to enforce and to late understonde wisdom and vertue unto them that be not lernyd, ne cannot dyscerne wysedome fro folye. The ne emonge whom there was an excellent doctour of dyvynyte in the royaume of *Fraunce* of the ordre of thospital of Saynt *Johns* of *Jherusalem* whiche entended the same, and hath made a booke of *the chesse moralysed*, whiche at suche tyme as I was resident in *brudgys* in the counte of *Flanders* cam into my handes; whiche whan I had redde and ouerseen me semed ful necessarye for to be had in englishe; and in eschewyng of ydelnes, and to thende, that somme which have not sene it ne understonde *Frensch* ne *latyn*, I delybered in my self to translate it into our maternal tongue. And whan I so had achyueued the sayd transacion I dyde doo sette in enprynte a certeyn nombre of theym which anone were depesshed and solde. Wherefore bycause this sayd booke is ful of holsom wysedom, and requysyte unto every estate and degree, I have purposed to enprynte it, shewyn therein the figures of such persones as longen to the Playe." The Booke is deuysed and departed into four traytes and Partyes. *Oudin* informs us, from the learned *Lambecius's* Catalogue of the Imperial Library, That this Booke was written originally in *Latin*, and is sometimes entituled, *Super ludo Schaccorum*; sometimes, *De moribus hominum, et officio nobilium et popularium super ludo Schaccorum*; and *Tractatus de causa inventionis ludi Schaccorum*: that the Author of it was *Jacobus de Thessalonica*, of the Order of Preaching Friers. In *Anthony Stenfl's* *Chro-*

De script.
Vol. III.

"These figures are very rudely cut in Wood: I shall only observe of them, That those of the ALPHABET, which are directed to be made and formed in manner of Judges sitting in a chayer with a booke open before theyr eyes, and of the ROYALTY which ben wytyars and signers of the Kyngs, have such Caps on their Heades as Mr. *Caxton's* Picture has.

nicle of this Order is the following Account given of him: *Frater Jacobus de Cezolis, Vir gravis, literaturæ egregie et multum venerandus, transiit ad posteras Sermones varios et librum^b moralem pro nobilibus de ludo Schaccorum.* Claruisse fertur circa annum Domini 1295. *Lambecius* observed, That his true Name was de *Casulis*, from a City in *Italy*, called *Capalis*, where he was born: That, through Corruption, it was written, de *Casolis*, *Cassalis*, and *Casallis*: Then de *Cesolis*, *Cessolis*, *Cezolis* and *Sesselis*; that again the Name was written de *Tessalis* and *Tbessalis*; and at length absurdly and foolishly changed into de *Theffalonica* et *Tbessalonica*; and, that he flourished about the Year 1290, or 1295; *L'Abbe* says, before the Year 1290. The learned du *Fresne* supposed *Jacobus de Cassulis*, and *Jacobus de Theffalonica*, to have been two different Men of the same Order of preaching Friars; the first to have lived about *A. D.* 1295, and the second about 1410. The same learned Person seems to have thought this Game of Chess an *Arabian* or *Persian* Game, since he derives its Name from the Word *Schach*, which, in *Arabic*, signifies a King, who is the principal Person in this Game. Out of *Latin* was this Book translated into *French*, and from the *French* into *English*, by Mr. *Caxton*, as has been said before. One *Simon Ailwardus*, an *English* Poet, who lived 1456, wrote a Poem *Of the Game of Chess*.

P. 16. L. 19. add. In the Prologue to this Book Mr. *Canton* tells us, That it was written in *French* by *Raoul le Feure*, the Author of *The Recueil*, &c. and presented by him unto the noble Prince in his dayes, *Philip le bon duc of burgoyne*, to whom he was Chaplain: That 'it was newe made aparte of alle thistories 'of the sayd *Yasen*, and the historie of him which 'that *Dares Frigius* and *Guido de Columpane* wrote

^b *Fr. Jac. de Cessolis* tract. de Præd. liber de moribus hominum et Officiis Nobilium super ludo Schaccorum: parvo folio Mediol. 1479.

^c De bello Trojano.

^d Destructionis Troje historia. Fol. 1486.

' in the begynnyng of theyr boke touchyng the conquest of the sayd *golden fiese* by occasion wherof grewe the cause of the second destruccioon of the said cite of *Troye*. He further intimated, That himself entended to translate and enterprised to accomplish this littil booke for the honour and worship of K. Edward IV. who had been elected Knight of the Order of the *Golden Fleece*, in the first Chapter of it, held by his Brother in Law, *Charles Duke of Burgundy*, at *Bruges*, on Sunday, May 8, 1468; and afterwards installed, or, as *Caxton* expressed it, ' had taken possession therof. In the same Prologue Mr. *Caxton* described the Hangings set up by *Philip Duke of Burgundy*, who instituted this Order of the Knights of the *Golden Fleece*, with a View to the Story of *Jason's Expedition to Colchis*, in his Castle of *Hesdin*, in *Artois*, upon the River *Canche*, in which this Story was represented: ' Well wote I, says Mr. *Caxton*, that the noble Duc *Philippe*, first foundeur of this sayd Order, did doo make a Chambre in the Castell of *Hesdin* wherein was crastyly and curyously depeynted the conqueste of the golden fiese by the said *Jason*. In which Chambre I have ben and seen the sayd historie so depeynted; and, in remembrance of *MEDEA* and her cunning and science, he had do make in the said Chambre by subtyll engyn, that, when he wolde, it shulde seem, that it lightned, and after thondre, snowe and rayne, and all within the said chambre, as afte tymes and whan it shulde please him, which was al made for his singuler pleasir. A learned Friend, to whom I am much indebted for these Additions, observes to me, that there is no other Writer who mentions these Hangings or Paintings; and that, probably, they were destroyed in 1553, when the Town and Castle of *Hesden* were demolished by *Philibert Emanuel*, Duke of *Savoy*, General of the Emperor *Charles V.* But, that *Oliver de la March*, who was bred up in the Court of *Philip Duke of Burgundy*, has intimated, That the Duke had a Regard to this Story in his Institution of this Order; but afterwards, by the

J. Anstis,
*Esq; Garter
 Principal King
 at Arms.*

the Advice of *Jobu German*, Bishop of *Nevers*, the first Chancellor of this Order, *Gideon's Fleece* was substituted in the Room of that of *Jason*; and, that of this Story, were very rich Hangings of Gold and Silver remaining in the Court of *Brussels*, in 1652, when *Chiffet* printed his *Breviarium Ordinis Velleris aurei*. *Monstrelet* tells us, That on the Collar of this Order was, *Appendent une toison que jadis conquist anciennement Jason en l'isle de Colchos comme on le trouve in l'Histoire de Troye*. Mr. *Caxton* mentions both these in this Prologue. 'In so much, says he, as the greatest fame and 'renomme standeth and resteth in the conquest of the 'Flese of gold wherof is founded an Ordre of Knightes, '— howe well some persones afferme and saye, that 'the sayde Ordre hath taken his Original of the flese 'of *Gedeon*, where in I woll not dispute.' This little Book Mr. *Caxton* presented, as he said, 'unto the 'moost sayr, and his moost redoubted young lord, 'his lord prynce of *Wales* to thentent he might be- 'gynne to lerne to rede Englissh.' He being now about *five* Years old.

P. 17. L. 11, &c. Note. This Title of the Earls, of *Defendour and Directeur of the Siege Apostolique*, &c. is an Intimation of an Office of which I have hitherto met with no Account, and can therefore only guess at the Nature of it. Sir *Henry Spelman* has observed, *Glossa*. That *Defensors* are of many Kinds, and known by rium, *V*. several Names, both in the Church and State: That, *Defensor*. particularly, there were *Defensors* of the Patrimony of *St. Peter*, which were appointed by the Popes in the Provinces, to defend and take care of the Patrimony of the *Roman Church*, and particularly of what Legacies were left to it: That of these *Defensors* there is often mention made by the Popes, *Gregory* and *Pelagius*, in their Epistles; and, that from thence may be learn'd their Office. *Du Fresne* informs us, That *Glossa*. these *Defensors* of the Churches, or Apostolic See, *rium, V*. were of the Order of Scholastics, or, as I suppose, *Advoca-* Advocates of the Canon Law; but that afterwards this *tus*. Office was conferred on military Men, and those of greater

Present
State of
Great-
Britain.

greater Power, that there might be those to defend the Rights of the Church, which they took into their Protection, not only with their Tongues but with their Arms. Earl Rivers was a fit Person for this Office, who, according to the Character given of him by Sir Thomas More, had a Hand to execute as well as a Head to advise. From hence I have surmised, that this Office was something like that of the King's Lord Advocate in Scotland, who, it's said, was a Person most eminent for Eloquence and Knowledge of the Laws, and to defend the King's Right and Interest in all publick Meetings, by Law and Reason. The Word *Diacevrou* seems to import the same, as if the Person invested with this Office, had the Direction or Management of what concerned the Apostolic See here in England, or of what temporal Concerns the Pope had here. It is in this Sense that the Word is still used. *Directeur, Procurator, terme de Palais. C'est une Administrateur laïque qui est choisi par le Bureau général des Pauvres, pour avoir soin du bien de quelque hôpital, et qui va un jour la semaine à cet hôpital, pour ouïr les plaintes des pauvres et leur rendre justice.* Richelet *Diction. V. Directeur.*

P. 18. L. 10. add, In the Earl's Preface to this Book we are told, That in July 1473, he set sail from Southampton, to go to Compostella in Spain, on a Pilgrimage to St. James, where that Year was to be a Jubilee and Pardon. For this he had a royal License granted to him two Years before. *Professuro contra infideles, &c.* who was a going against the Infidels, and in Pilgrimage, and to see the World, with a Recommendation of him to all Christian Princes. At the End of this Book is added about a Page and a Half, by Caxton, of the *seyings* of Socrates, ayenst Women, which the Erle, it seems, had not translated. Of this Mr. Caxton gave the following Account. That the Earl desired him to oversee this Book, and whereas he sholde fynde faulte to correct it, and that dook to put the sayde booke in prynte. And thus, said he, obeying his request and
com-

Pat. xi.

Edw. IV.

p. 2. m. 28.

Corrections and Additions.

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• commaundement, I have put me in deuoir to over-
 • see this his booke, and beholden as nyghe as I coude
 • howe it accordeth with the original beyng in French.
 • And I fynde nothyng discordsant therein, but only
 • in the dyctes and saynges of *Socrates*, wherin I
 • fynde, that my saide lorde hath left out certayn and
 • dyuerce conclusions towchyng women, wherof I
 • meriayll that my lord hath not wroten them.
 • But for as moche as I had commaundement of my
 • sayd lord to correcte and amende where as I shoulde
 • fynde faulte, and other fynde I none sauf, that he
 • hath left out these dictes and saynges of the Women
 • of *Greece*. Therefore in accomplishing his coman-
 • dement for as moche as I am not ^{sure} in certayn whe-
 • der it was in my lordis cople or not, or ellis per-
 • venture that the wynde had blowe over the leef at
 • the tyme of translation of his boke, I purpose to
 • wryte the same saynges of that Greke *Socrates* whiche
 • wrote of the women of *Greece* and nothyng of them
 • of this Royame, whom I suppose he neuer knewe.
 • For if he had I dar plainly saye, that he would have
 • referred them in especiall in his sayd dictes. <sup>Al-
excepted</sup>
 • way not presumyng to put and sette them in my sayd
 • lordes booke, but in thende aparte in the reherseyll of
 • the werkis, humbly requiryng al them that shal rede
 • this lytyl reherseyll, that if they fynde ony faulte
 • I tarrete it to *Socrates* and not to me. ^{to place}

P. 201. Line 8. add; Besides the translating these three
 Books, if the two last mentioned are not the same,
 for I have never seen them, this Earl wrote a Ballad
 against the seven deadly Sins; and another whilst he
 was a Prisoner in *Pontefract* Castle, beginning

Sunnebat, musing and mourning
 which is inserted by *John Roffe* in his History, page 4.

P. 210. Line 7. *Edw. No. 9.* Mrs. *Moses Pitt*, in the
 second Volume of this Atlas, tells us, That he present-
 ed this Book to the University Library:

P. 22. Note. Read *Hunte* and *Roods* at *Oxford*.

P. 27. L. 16. In a Prologue to this Book, *declaringe to whom it appertayneth*, we are informed, That
 ' it was translatid out of *latin* into *Frenshe* by the or-
 ' denaunce of the noble duc *John* of *Berry* and *An-*
 ' *uergne* the yere of our lord MCCXLV. and now at
 ' this tyme rudely translated out of *Frenshe* into *Eng-*
 ' *lish* by *William Caxton*: That it was engrossed, and
 ' in all Poyntes ordeyned by chapittes and figures in
 ' *Frenshe* in the town of *bruggis* 1464 in the month
 ' of *Junyn*, and empyrked by him to translate and
 ' brynge it into our maternall tongue the second day
 ' of *Janyuer* 1480 in thabby of *Westmestre* by *Lon-*
 ' *don*.'

P. 29. L. 13. from bot. Note. ' *John Rastall*, who
 ' breuely compylid, and empyrnted 21 *Henry viij* or
 ' A. D. 1530, *The Pastyme of People*, or *the Cronycles*
 ' of *dyuers realmys* and *most specially of the realme of*
 ' *Englond*, calls this *The Englysh Cronicle*.'

P. 40. L. 3. from bot. This Prefis is said by *Bag-*
ford to have been suppressed by Cardinal *Wolsey*.

P. 47. L. last. Note, at the Word *translation*.
 This Book of the *blasfing* of *arms* contains only *Ab-*
stracts from *Nicholas Upton*, who wrote four Books,
De re militari et factis illustribus, the last of which
 treats, *De insignibus Anglorum Nobilium*: Or, of the
Arms of the Englysh Nobles. At the End of this *Eng-*
lish Translation, by *Juliana Barnes*, is *Emprinted at*
the exempt Monastery of St. Albans.

P. 51. L. 2. from bot. 1. A wise and politic *Go-*
vernment.

P. 84. Note. In our Forefathers Time, when *Pa-*
pistry, as a standing Pool, covered and overflowed all
England, few Books were read in our Tongue, saving
 certain Books of Chivalry, as they said, for Pastime
 and Pleasure; which, as some say, were made in
 Monasterys by idle Monks, or wanton Canons. As one
 for Example: *MORTE ARTHUR*, the whole Plea-
 sure of which Book standeth in two special Poyntes,
 in open Man-slaughter, and bold Bawdry. In which
 Book

Book those be counted the noblest Knights that do kill most Men without any Quarrel, and commit foulest Adulteries by subtlest Shifts: As Sir *Lancelot* with the Wife of King *Arthur* his Master; Sir *Tristan* with the Wife of King *Mark* his Uncle; Sir *Lamurac* with the Wife of King *Lote* that was his own Aunte. This is good Stuff for wise Men to laugh at; or honest Men to take Pleasure in: Yet I know when God's Bible was banished the Court; and MORFE ARTHUR received into the Prince's Chamber. R. ALEM, Schoolmaster, Book I.

P. 88. L. 13. Note. In an Act of Parliament, 9 Henry V. c. xii. A. D. 1421, this Bridge is called, *The newe bridge of ROCHESTER.*

P. 99. L. 5. from bot: ——— 'whiche translation was finished the viii day of Juyll the said Yere, and enprynted the xliii day of Juyll next following and ful fynysht.'

P. 101. L. 27. The bright and accurate Author of the DUNCIAD tells us, That 'Caxton translated into Prose, *Virgil's Aeneis* as a History; and that he speaks of it in a very singular Manner, as of a Book hardly known.' But this Censure is confuted by the very Copy of Caxton's Preface to this Book, which even this ingenious Writer has printed in his Appendix. There Caxton tells his Readers: '1. That this lytyl booke was translated out of *latyn* into *frenche* by some noble clerke, or fine scholar, of *france*. 2. That he never saw tofore like, this translation, before. ne none so playfant, ne so wel ordered; and, that this book, as him seemed, shoud be moche requisite to Noblemen to see. 3. That this booke is named *Eneydos*, and made in *latyn* by that noble Poete and grete clerke *Virgyle*. 4. That many hondred yers passed was the sayd book of *Eneydos* with other workes made and learned daily in scolys, specyally in *yalys* and other places, whiche historye the sayd *Virgyle* made in metre.' How easy a Matter is it to create DUNCES at this Rate?

Corrections and Additions.

P. 103. L. 2. from bot. It appears from this Book how accurate an Editor *Cantab* was, and what an Injury has been done to *Chaucer's Works* by those who have published them since. Of this I'll give the following Instance, from the Beginning of this Book.

Cantab's Ed.

—For lo rendyng muses
of Poetes enditen to me
thinges to be writen, and
dreynt vety of wretchidnes
weten my face with very
teeris.

yongthe.
welshull.
dreynte.
unagreable.
welshull.

Ed. 1602, 1721.

—For lo rendyng muses of
Poets enditen to me thinga
to be written, and dreary
tears.

youth.
welshull.
drente.
ungreable.
welshull.



P. 41. Note. It's not improbable, that this Name of *Infomuch*, given to the Author of this Book, entitled, *Fruſtus temporum*, by Sir Henry Chaucer, was taken, by Miſtake, from the firſt Word of the Prologue to it, which is, *Infomeche*.



WRITERS

OF THE

ART of PRINTING.



Ameloenius de Stephanorum Vita,
Melchioris Adami Vitæ Joannis Fust et—
Gottemburgh, inter vitas Germanorum
Philosophorum.

John Bagford's Proposals and Life of Wil-
liam Caxton. A single Sheet.

Pierre Baile's Dictionaire, &c. V. Ally.

— Baile's Jugemens de principaux Imprimeurs.

— Bartolocius de typographis Judæorum.

Job. Hen. Boecler's Oratio habita 1640.

Christophori Besoldi Dissertat. Philologicarum Pentas-
Dissert. IV.

— Bonbornij Theatre de Hollande.

Joh. Brodai Miscell. lib. II. c. 26.

Jean de la Caille Histoire de l'Imprimerie et de la li-
braire 1689.

And. Cheuellerij liber de origine typographiæ Pari-
siensis.

Johannis a Chokiem Miscell. lib. I. c. 18.

J. A. Fabricij Notæ criticae ante nostram ætatem
typographorum, &c. in Bibliotheca Latinæ, Vol. I.
1708.

John Fox's Acts and Monuments.

De Gallois Traite des plus belles bibliothèques de l'Eu-
rope, p. 162, 185, et seq.

Hermannus Hugo de prima scribendi origine et rei li-
terariæ antiquitate. Antw. 1617.

Histoire

Histoire de l'Imprimerie.

The History of the Art of Printing, &c. Edinburgh 1713.

Pauli Jovij Novocomensis Epis. descriptio regionum et locorum. Basil 1561. Lib. IV.

Christiani Liberij Bibliotheca. Ultrajecti 1681. p. 12.

Bernardus a Mallinckrott Decanus Moguntiae de ortu ac progressu Artis Typographicae. Col. Agrip. 1640.

Joan. Mentelij ad Mallinckrott parænesis de vera origine Typographiae.

Mich. Majstaire Stephanorum Historia. 1709.

Annales Typographici. 1733.

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Moreri Dictionaire. V. Imprimerie.

J. Mullerus de incunabilis Typographiae Lipsiensis.

Sam. Palmer History of Printing, and particularly in England. 1732.

Guido Pancirallus de rebus deperditis et noviter inventis: seu nova reperta veteribus incognita: cum comm. Henrici Salmuth 2. libris. Ambergae 1612.

Pierre Richelet Dictionaire de la langue Francoise, a Amsterdam 1732. V. Imprimerie.

Joannis Schilleri observationes in Jacobi de Konigshoven Chronicon universale et Alsaticum.

Joh. Schmidii Hom. 3. et 4.

Adami Schragii liber Germaniae scriptus de Typographiae Inventionem.

Henrici Stephani Querimonia Artis Typographicae.

Burchardi Gothelf Struvij Introductio ad Historiam Literariam, Cap. xi.

Polydore Vergil de rerum inventoribus, Lib. II. c. 7.



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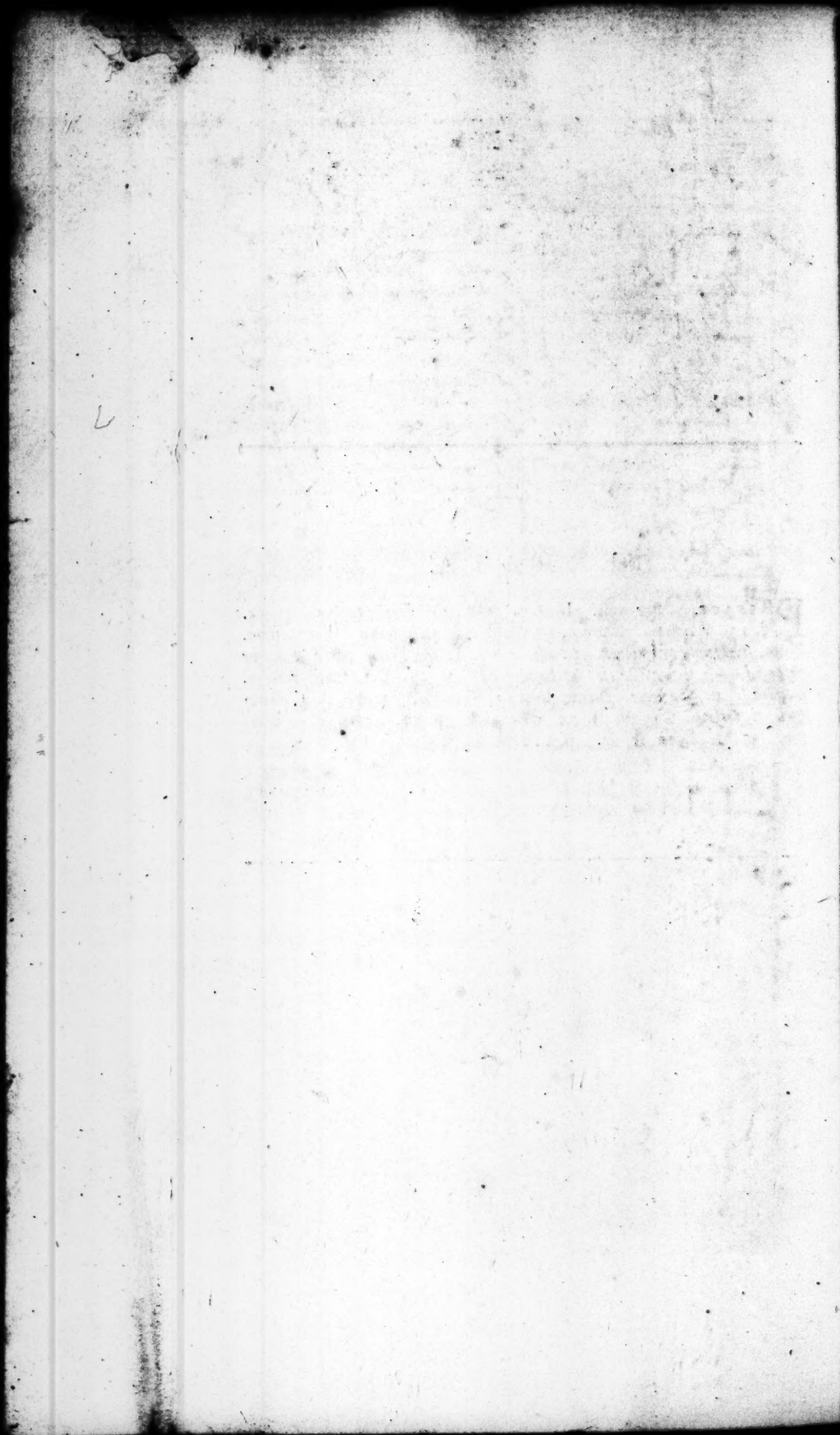
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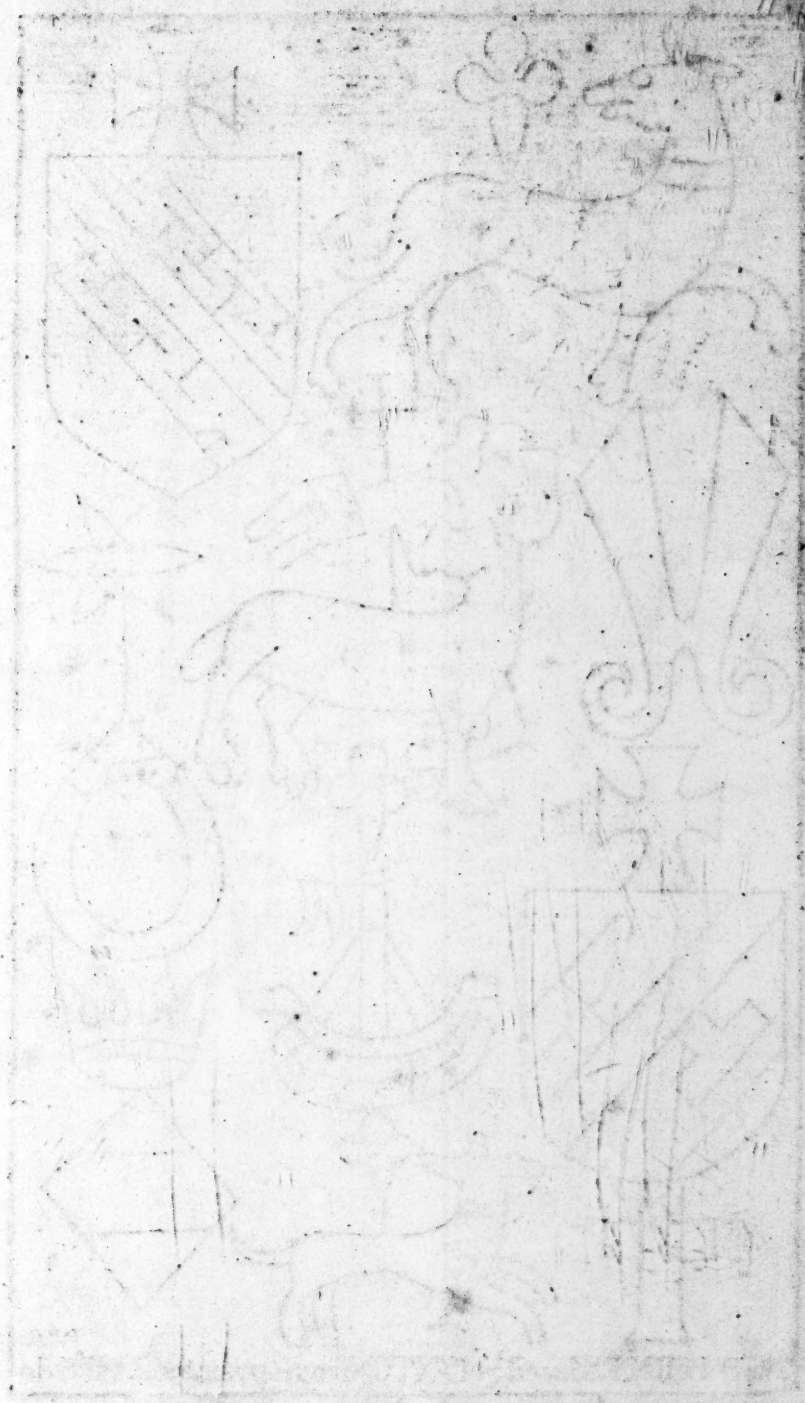
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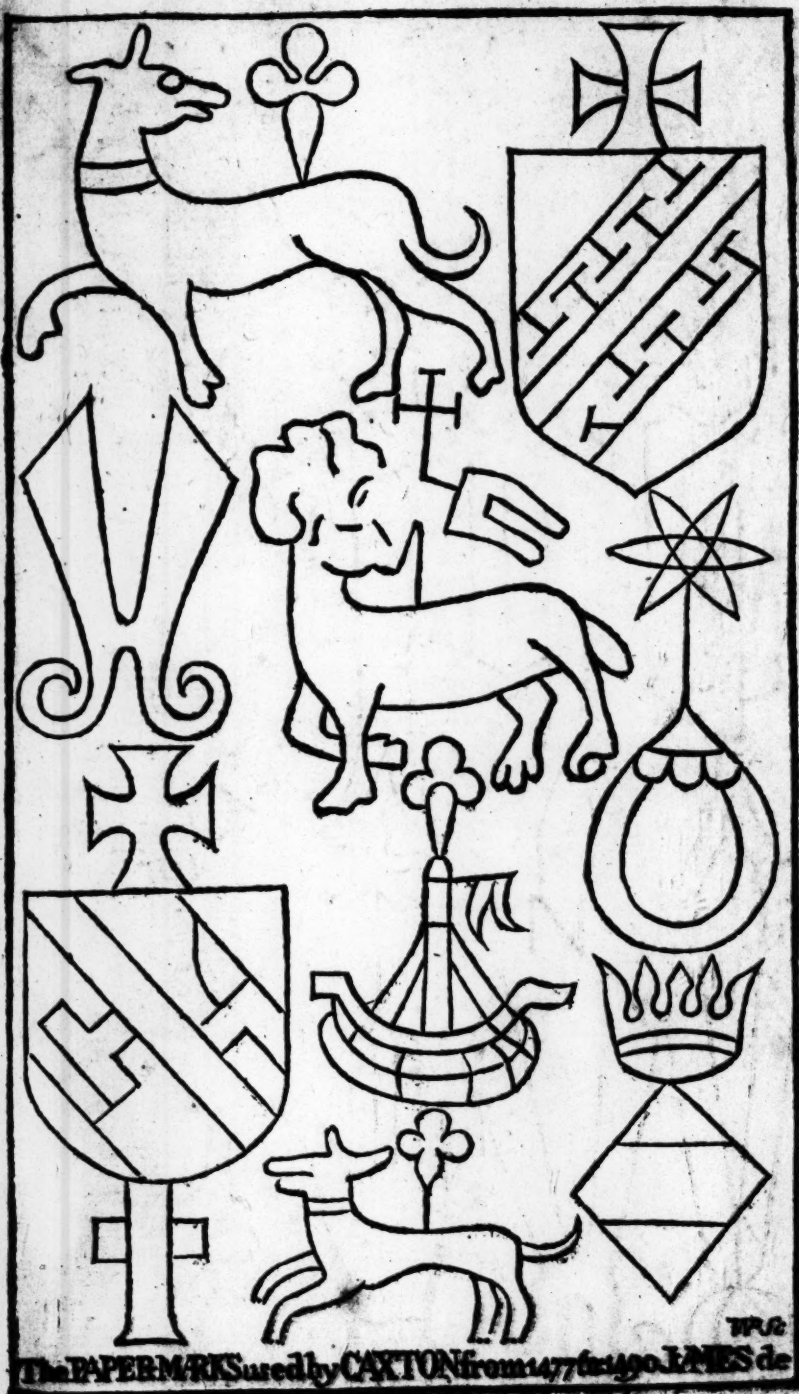
F I N I S.

ERRATA.

PREFACE, Page viii. Line 9. read, *this Dissertation.* p. xv.
l. 13. r. *makes.* Book, p. 11. l. 17. r. *historye.* p. 22. mar.
Note, r. *Hunts and Road.* p. 26. l. 21. r. *six Years after I have*
supposed — p. 49. l. 11. r. *Londoniae.* p. 51. l. 2. from bot. r.
politick. p. 58. mar. Note, l. 2. r. *Trevisa.* p. 68. l. 3. from
bot. r. *follow.* p. 69. l. 22. dele *and.* p. 72. l. 19. r. *as bold-*
ing. p. 76. l. 20. r. *It.* p. 110. l. 13, 14. r. *metropolitana.*







The PAPERMARKS used by CAXTON from 1476 to 1490. L. A. N. S. de

